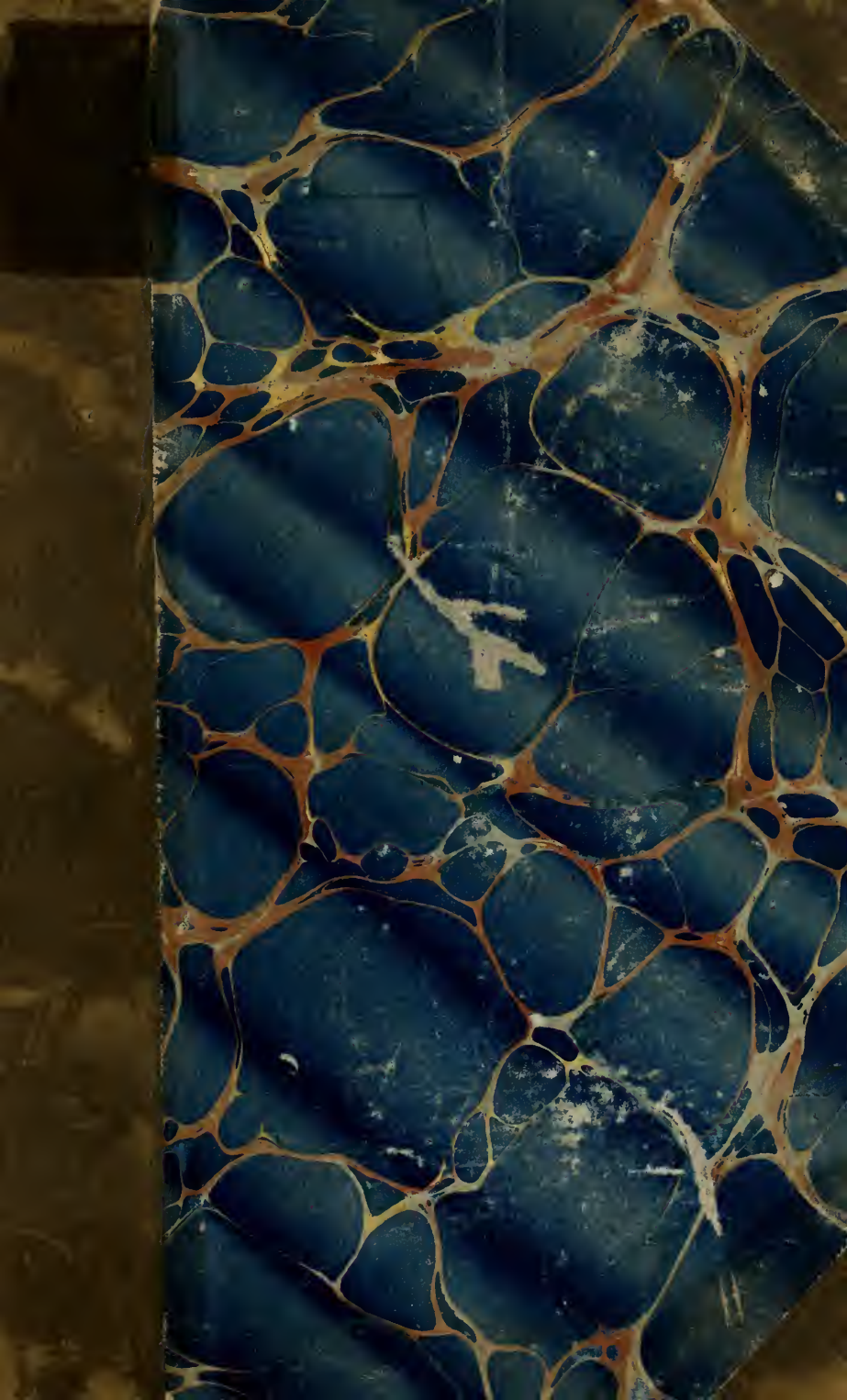

D/KS/G

Henry St Barford.
1838.

THE

POPERY OF OXFORD,

&c. &c.

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LIBERABIT

THE

POPERY OF OXFORD

CONFRONTED, DISAVOWED, & REPUDIATED.

BY

PETER MAURICE, M.A.,

(LATE OF JESUS COLLEGE,)

CHAPLAIN OF NEW AND ALL SOULS' COLLEGES,

OFFICIATING MINISTER AT KENNINGTON, BERKS.

Y gwyir yn erbyn y byd.

"The truth against the world."—*Ancient British Proverb.*

Μηδείς σου τῆς νεότητος καταφρονείτω.

"Let no man despise thy youth."—(1 Timothy, iv. 12.)

כִּי אָנֹכִי כַּשַּׁחַל לְאֶפְרַיִם וְכַכְּפִיר לְבֵית יהוּדה

"For I *will be* unto Ephraim as a lion, and as a young lion to the house of Judah."
(Hos. v. 14.)

LONDON:

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1837.

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SIN...
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TO

HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY

WILLIAM THE FOURTH,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD,

KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, ETC.

SIRE,

As a member of the pure and apostolical branch of the universal church so long and happily established in these realms, and as a humble minister of Christ's holy gospel, I take the liberty of commending to your most gracious notice the accompanying publication. It is a work to which I could wish to see the attention of every individual directed whose object is to advance the glory of God, the good of his church, the safety, honour, and welfare, of his sovereign and his dominions. By the providence of that blessed and glorious Being, by whom alone kings reign and princes decree justice, we are permitted to look up to yourself as the defender of the faith and supreme governor of the church within these dominions. It

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is by virtue of that connexion which every member of a visible body has with its visible head, that I presume to address myself to you. The state of the present times is such, that it loudly calls upon all who love their King, and seek the peace of their country, to lay to heart the great danger we are in by our unhappy divisions, and remove from among us everything that may hinder us from godly union and concord. It is in the pure Word of the living God alone that this spirit of heavenly love is to be apprehended in all its beautiful simplicity. It is the value they have attached to that Word which has raised Britannia's sons so high in the scale of nations, and whatever may tend to impede its free circulation, or obscure its plain and literal exposition, cannot but fail, in the end, to prove detrimental to their best interests. It is to royal James of Scotland, under God, we are indebted for the present edition of our widely-circulated Bible; but to the noble House of Brunswick has it devolved to preserve it so long, and afford it a free and unshackled circulation. The former Prince came to us, with his noble lion rampant on its firmament of burnished gold, to establish that Word in its purity. The latter visited our shores, (and long may it be spared to Albion's loyal sons,) with its snow-white charger, fleet and undaunted, upon its blood-stained

shield—emblem of that nobler steed upon which he rides triumphantly, whose name is called "The Word of God." Hence, Royal Prince, is all thy power; yea, hence alone! Thy aged father, living still in many a Briton's heart below,—living, we trust, above, midst priests and kings, with Christ, expressed a wish that all his subjects might not only have, but read, that Word themselves. Thy brother, too, of York, removed from hence for thee to wield Britannia's sceptre, furthered his father's pious wish by distributing through our army militant on earth that blessed Book, which alone is able, by the power of the Spirit of God upon it, to bring them safe to those all-victorious regiments now singing the Song of Moses and the Lamb above, in undisturbed peace and heavenly rest.

May it be thine to preserve to thy subjects that Word free from all trammels and the polluting fetters of fallible men; and so thy kingdom will be secure—thy people prosper yet. It may seem strange that an individual, who has no other claim upon your notice than that he is one of the least of all your ministering clergy, should thus approach your presence, but seeing that the present emergency is great, I use the means placed within my reach, and look to him alone to prosper my weak endeavours for the good of his

church and people. The time draws near when the Royal House of Hanover will feel and acknowledge that they alone are its best friends and supporters whose life and conversation, opinions and doctrines, are based upon the unchanging and unchangeable Word of God. In the fulness of that precious Word we have life, and health, and salvation; it is by the power of that Word alone, brought home by the blessed Spirit of promise, O mighty Sovereign, that thy crown of earthly dignity and power shall be exchanged for a diadem of unearthly beauty and loveliness. May it be made effectual to the strengthening and refreshing of thy soul, amidst its many trials and perplexities; mayst thou be gathered to thy fathers in peace, and thy soul, purified by that blood which cleanseth from all sin, join the waiting company before the throne of the King of kings, having attained to everlasting felicity through the merits of Jesus Christ, our only God and Saviour.

I am, Sire, in all humility,

Your Majesty's most obedient and most faithful

Subject and Servant,

PETER MAURICE.

New College, in Oxford,
May 29th, 1837.

PREFACE.

"Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off."
1 Kings, xx. 11.

In bringing the present volume before the public, I find it necessary to say a few words by way of introduction. Many singular and erroneous reports have been circulated respecting it; and as it is difficult to stay the stormy waves of malice and slander when once set in motion by the blasts of popular excitement, it may be regarded as a sign of Christian wisdom and discretion to be beforehand with them. There has been a general impression among many of my friends and acquaintance, that I began hastily and under great excitement. To this I reply, that this subject has been uppermost in my mind since the end of the year 1833—and surely to wait patiently till March, 1837, to see if any persons more competent than myself would step forward and do their duty, is no sign of undue precipitancy. I feel it, indeed, necessary to assign a reason for not coming forward sooner, and am furnished with one of such a nature as all will admit to be sufficient—viz., that my bodily strength was unequal to the effort. The plan I have adopted in bringing forward my publication has laid me open likewise to a charge of singularity; I mean in announcing a work before I had written a single line on the subject; but they who know how easily we are diverted from some of our very best intentions because we put them off from time to time, upon the slightest pretext, will be able to appreciate my motives.

When I had announced my intentions publicly, there was no retreat left without incurring merited disgrace. And it is well that I did so, for even my nearest and dearest friends, when they saw me, after they had read my placard, by their very looks intimated to me how much they regretted the step that I had taken; I had, indeed, their sympathy, but I fear but a small share of their anticipation of my ultimate success. It requires no small effort of the mind to do that which is apparently opposed to one's own interest; and, as the conscience of every one that reads these lines will bear me witness, my position was most critical and perilous. It is reputed, likewise, that I have given my *name* to a party. To this I simply answer, when I give my name to any party engaged in any public measure, it will be a party of such a description as shall not be ashamed either of my name or their own names being put in juxta-position with each other, neither will we be afraid of announcing our proper titles to the world. It is well known I am no party-man, neither ever have I willingly joined any party whose object has been to oppress their brethren. *As a school-boy* I was accustomed to skulk away whenever I saw any of those physical oppressions carried on, which I was unable to put a stop to. *In college* I never sided with any of the moral oppressions of my equals, who, by banter, ridicule, or other disgraceful manœuvres, enticed their thoughtless companions into the fashionable vices and follies of the day. And, *as a minister of the tolerant church of England,* I have ever abhorred that spiritual oppression, and the lording it over the consciences of the weaker brethren, that is so prevalent in the present day. I stand up now as an isolated individual, implicating no party, unadvised, unauthorized, with none to back me, and but few to encourage me. If I am unfortunate enough to stir up the flame of strife rather than that of love, I shall have none to share with me the bitterness of the enmity lavished upon my head. I have stood up as one who has placed much at stake; expense I have not spared, neither in travelling, advertizing, purchasing books, or in printing, it being my object to make the work as complete as a single and

inexperienced individual could render it. I have had no promise of pecuniary assistance, neither have I solicited it; if my publication should not have such a circulation as shall defray the expenses, I shall be enabled to bear the loss without any compunctions of mind. I have a few friends, and though they may not have as much of the silver and the gold as fall to the lot of some, they will ever render me that assistance which I need, and they are enabled to extend to me; but I look higher, and put my trust in my God, and when he pleases to open the heart and fill the hand it is in vain to resist him; the silver and the gold all belong to our Father which is in heaven, and he dispenseth it to his children as it seemeth best in his own eyes. I am not one of those who can speak one thing and mean another; I know my own powers, and I can in part read the minds of others, and I do not anticipate any loss by this publication. If worldly policy were my object, I know that, even on worldly principles, "honesty is the best policy." It is commonly reputed here and elsewhere of me that *I am not the man;* I admit the truism. I believe the learning and the intellect of Oxford would never have set me up as *the man.* I have waited to see if they would bring forward the man, for I know that many in Oxford are quaking under the fearful signs of the present times. But, inasmuch as they set not up "*their man,*" and take no steps to prevent me, I take it for granted that *I am,* at last, *the man* whom the Lord, and not men, hath chosen. I am not, indeed, the man I would wish to be for such an undertaking, and much do I regret that my style is not more polished, and my hand better exercised in preparing for the eye of an educated and intelligent public. My writings have had for their object only the small flock that I have been superintending for the last seven years; and the wisdom of words, and the eloquence of language, would have been much out of place under such circumstances. My MSS. have not been inspected, my proof-sheets have undergone no other revision than my own. I stand up as a man, and as a man the public will have to receive me—with all my faults and infirmities. I expect not a few blows; I look for

wounds even from my friends; but no man goeth into the battle-field without expecting to have the weapons directed against him. I shall be called a severe man, and bitter, fanciful, and eccentric; I am prepared for this, and more likewise; and I doubt not the very severest wounds will be profitable in the end. I am severe; so was every one who stood up for his Lord and God in the days of old; so was the blessed Jesus at times. I am bitter; it is a bitter root that I am attempting to destroy. I may be fanciful also; but I trust not beyond the limits of probability. I may be, I believe I am, eccentric likewise; but they that have watched me will find that there is a consistency in my very eccentricities. All they that move in a different orbit from that in which the children of this evil world are moving, have the appearance of being eccentric. I have appended a publication that was, when it first issued from the press, regarded as eccentric; but experience and positive facts have made it no longer so. My views will there be seen as identical with what I now advance, and prove that the popery of politics is sooner or later followed by the popery of theology. My views on doctrine will there be seen still as eccentric and unchanged. I have watched these changes anxiously, and I have seen this party rising and increasing, and it is now flourishing. I have been acting up to my duty, as a minister in the establishment, according to the strict letter of the Rubric, I believe, more consistently than they have, and certainly for a longer period of time; therefore, I say, *I am the man to meet them;* and if nobody else will do it, (I will wait patiently and quietly to see the issue of this appeal,) why that will I. I fear them not on any ground they may take: if no one else will follow them, I must; whether through the mazes of the philosophy of Plato or Aristotle, through the Talmud or the labours of the Fathers, I will crawl after them, and it shall not be said in any of the cities of Britannia that the enemy is parading in the very citadel of our theological empire, and no one bold enough to meet him.

If the public wish for *Tracts,* there are an abundance already printed from which a selection can be made; and, having the pen

of a ready writer, I can easily supply such as I am neither afraid nor ashamed of appending my name to. If the public wish for sermons, I have, at least, 700 or 800 that I can, at a short notice, prepare for the press. And if they look for the "Lyre," to make the chord complete, they need not long complain. The mantle of Taliesin has not fallen in vain upon our house; and though we aspire not to the apostolical branch of mystical lyric poetry, we refuse not, when we see the necessity, to use for the glory of our God and Saviour the simple melodies of the harp of David. In conclusion, I beg to add, that all anonymous writers and criticisms will be treated with the notice they deserve, even as unworthy the attention of a Christian man. If a man has got a name, when he aspires to write for the public let him give it up; if he has no name to give, let him hold his peace. The heaviest charge I have yet heard alleged against me by those who differ from me is, my being personal,—i. e., confronting this party by publishing their names. I plead guilty, and take to myself the credit of being an honest and straightforward man; and if any of that party can demean themselves by noticing any anonymous scribbler that may set up, there is no reason why I should follow their example.

It may be brought forward against me that I have not entered sufficiently into the detail of the views of this party, and made my work of a sufficiently controversial character to be really useful. It is not because I lack materials, as the seven volumes well scored will bear me witness. It is not because I lack ability; and here in Oxford there are books to be consulted on all subjects; and, connected as I am by privilege with some of the best libraries, and having access by courtesy to many more, I do not shrink from the task; and when I find that this faction is too strong for me, I have personal friends among those who, for learning, powers of mind, and knowledge of literature generally, are by no means inferior to the most talented of this newly organized sect. My object has been rather to give, as clearly as I was able, an outline of their views and proceedings as far as I could compre-

hend them. I do not, indeed, much anticipate that they will feel disposed to look upon me as deserving their notice, but will pass me by as a man of no reputation, but that to me will be of very small moment. I, for my part, will not suffer them any longer to stalk before our camp without bringing all my energies and mental powers to bear against them, if no one else is to be found. To stop the progress of the fearful spiritual pestilence that is desolating our Zion I do not regard as possible; but I do trust that many, when they see the danger to which they are exposed by joining these men, will be enabled to look up to Him who alone is able to keep us from falling, and present us faultless before the presence of his glory, with exceeding joy.

New College, May 29, 1837.

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ERRATUM.—Page 17, line 9, *instead of* daggers *read* crosslets like daggers.

POPERY OF OXFORD.

CHAPTER I.

"The priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth; for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts. But ye are departed out of the way; ye have caused many to stumble at the law; ye have corrupted the covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of hosts. Therefore have I also made you contemptible and base before all the people, according as ye have not kept my ways, but have been partial in the law. Have we not all one father? hath not one God created us? why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother, by profaning the covenant of our fathers?"—Malachi, ii. 7—10.

Truly awful and solemn is the address of Him whose province it was to minister in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, as we read it in the commencement of the book of his own Revelation to the Churches. Upon this part of the blessed volume of inspiration it is meet and right that the visible church of Christ should ever ponder; there is a special and peculiar blessing attached as well to its perusal as the keeping of the words of its prophetic developments. These Seven Churches are emblematical of the various views and feelings that influence and distinguish the different sections of the visible church, and according to the temper and spirit of the mind of each individual, so he may be classed under some of these subdivisions; whilst the unity of all these, in their purity, makes up the seven-branched candlestick, which is an emblem of the Gentile church. Ought we not, then, to lay to heart that strong appeal made by the Lord of glory to the angel of the church in Laodicea, and confess that it is too well suited to a great body of the Members of the Church in England:—

"And unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans write; These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God; I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth. Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked: I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and

anoint thy eyes with eyesalve, that thou mayest see. As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten: be zealous therefore, and repent. Behold, I stand at the door and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me. To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne." (Rev. iii. 14—21.)

What a coldness and apathy seems to have overwhelmed the greater portion of its members, who are fully convinced in their minds that some step ought to be taken to expose and to remedy the evils that are coming upon us by the misguided and ill-directed zeal of a section of our body, so closely resembling the description afforded us of that degenerating branch of the church in Thyatira:—

"And unto the angel of the church in Thyatira write; These things saith the Son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet are like fine brass; I know thy works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the last to be more than the first. Notwithstanding I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols. And I gave her space to repent of her fornication; and she repented not. Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds. And I will kill her children with death; and all the churches shall know that I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts: and I will give unto every one of you according to your works." (Rev. ii. 18—23.)

By examining into the etymology of the word *Jezebel*, my reason for thus comparing the party in question to that withering branch of the church in Thyatira will be more obvious. אִיזֶבֶל is derived from אִי, an island, (see Gen. x. 5,) and זבל, to dwell, or reside, &c., (see Gen. xxx. 20.) The idea conveyed to the mind by the word *island* is that of separation from the main land, and I think that a similar impression must have been made upon the minds of all who know anything of this branch of the church of England,—viz., that they are, in respect to the main body of its members, in the same relative proportion as an island is to the continent from which it is separated by the surrounding water. And when I call them the *Church of the Separation*, I fear I shall not have bestowed upon them an unsuitable appellation. The history of literal Jezebel (see 1 Kings, xviii., and 2 Kings, ix.) is in the hands of every one in this land of bibles, so that all who can read it may learn the dangerous consequence of any such alliance to the Visible Church. The learned professor of Hebrew may bring what evidence he can find to invalidate my verbal criticism, and denounce it as fanciful and extravagant; it is, however, the most common etymology of the word, and very plausible. But I build not so much upon the word itself as the history, since I have found the Old-Testament histories the best possible commentators upon the doctrines and the precepts of the New. Let me but have Moses and the Prophets, (the great-grandfathers,)

with Jesus Christ and his Apostles, (the grandfathers,) and I shall then never envy Dr. Pusey and his friends their Augustine, and all the Company of the Fathers, old or young, upon whom, as foundation-stones, they may build their dogmas, their theories, or their practices.

It may be said of me, by those who read this publication, that I am hot; but they will not dare to say I am either cold or lukewarm. Whatever objections they may raise against me on the score of learning, science, or natural endowments, is of small moment: I stand up as a Member of the church of England, and as one of its regularly ordained ministers, and it is in virtue of my official, and not of my personal character, that I now take my stand upon the watch-tower; and whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear, is not my province to be over anxious to learn; I shall have delivered my own soul. If Phineas, the youthful grandson of the first high-priest in the family of Aaron, obtained the promise of an everlasting priesthood because he stood up for the honour of his God and the salvation of his kinsmen after the flesh, when in danger of ruin by the fearful devices of the man of sin, surely I have a sufficient precedent for what I have undertaken; and if that were the only one, it would indeed content me. I stand in the gap, because I see that wrath is gone out from the Lord against us; and may he bless the weak efforts of his ministering disciple. The controversy is not one of man's seeking, it is of the Lord, and he has brought one whom he hath chosen to the strife. I may say, with despised Paul, of old—

"Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world? For after that in the wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe. God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are: that no flesh shall glory in his presence." (1 Cor. i. 20, 21, 27—29.)

These are strange times, indeed, when the Fathers in Zion are asleep, and the Masters in Israel are dumb; but God will not leave himself without witness, but make it evident that it is his doing, and claim to himself all the glory. I am less than the least of all Saints; but to me is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ.

The Parties interested in this controversy are numerous and complex. The Branch of the visible church in England stands in need of some individual who shall exhibit her in her own true colours. Her Episcopacy and her Clergy are insidiously attacked. The Public at large, whether Christian or infidel, cannot but feel a deep interest in the subject of these our internal divisions. Our

Dissenting and Seceding brethren are not in a slight measure involved in the general panic. The very name and existence of foreign churches seem to be likewise in danger. The views, therefore, of this sectarian faction of our clergy and our laity must be controverted and contradicted.

Let us not quietly permit ourselves to be set up, as was Rome of old, as *the church*, and none besides. It is assuming a title that the body of Christ can never lawfully sustain, until Himself, her chief Shepherd, shall appear. For, in these our doings, as a branch of the pure and Apostolical church of Christ, we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe anything but to our own people only: for we think it convenient that every country should use such ceremonies as they shall think best to the setting forth of God's honour and glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly living, without error or superstition; and that they should put away other things, which from time to time they perceive to be most abused, as in men's ordinances is often likely to be the case. A branch of the catholic (or universal) church, planted in these realms, doubtless we are, else our God had not blessed us as heretofore; pure in our Creed; spiritual—as far as it is possible for man to spiritualize—in our Liturgy and Services; and Apostolical in our Orders: and surely this is sufficient, and ought to content us.

It will be my object to shew, in the course of this work, that the Controversy does not originate with myself, but that an attack is made by this newly organized system upon the very vitals of our religion, as embodied in the book of Common Prayer; and that these individuals, whether they have a name or are nameless, are bringing into unmerited contempt myself and all others in the Established Church who hold clear and enlightened views of the doctrines of grace as they are plainly and literally set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles,—who wish to make no unedifying alterations in the division or length of our public services,—who are satisfied with the instructions they receive from their superior clergy, as well as the vestments and ceremonies in present use. I look upon the forbearance of the clergy (I can speak, at least, for myself) as being most unprecedented. We find a party, whom nobody knows, though everybody seems to pay deference to, entering into a Combination, and issuing tracts in the capacity of *Members of the University of Oxford*, containing the most absurd statements that ever issued from any body of educated men, addressed to the Clergy as well as the Laity, as if they were vested with supernatural powers; and moreover, (who would credit it?) suppressing their names; and that Dr. Pusey should at length permit his influential and highly respected name to appear in the midst of such writings and compilations is one of the most strange features in this extraordinary miscellany.

This tract Depository has been opened since the year 1833, and no regular notice taken of it by any persons who have permitted their names to appear in print; and, in consequence, they have taken courage, and increased in boldness, till at length the whole country is brought, by their means, into a state of feverish excitement. It has pleased the Lord, at length, to call *an individual* to the controversy, and as his own glory, and the good estate of his church and this nation, are so intimately concerned in the issue of the same, he will, I trust, give him the grace and strength necessary to support him in the midst of it.

There are two principles ever in active operation within each individual's breast, striving for the ascendancy. A similar struggle of opposing principles is likewise observable in the world at large. In the former instance, it is the working of the conscience acted upon by the sunbeams of truth, either natural or revealed; in the latter, it is a strife kept up between light and darkness. The same painful spectacle meets the eye in what is called the religious world, and the most harrowing scenes have resulted from the clashing of the opposing parties. Upon the banner of one is unfurled a simple motto—"Nothing but Christ, and him crucified." Upon the other—"Antichrist."

The Religion of the true disciple of Christ is most simple and scriptural, imposing upon its followers nothing but Repentance towards God, and Faith in their Lord Jesus Christ as necessary to salvation. Everything else as laid down by the executive department of each pure church, is only by way of privilege and for purposes of edification to its own humble members.

But the Religion of Antichrist is just the converse of this simple proposition. Its votaries impose upon themselves their own imaginations and devices as the necessary part of their creed, with only just so much of the doctrines and the knowledge of the Saviour, as the light they may happen to possess will permit them to bring forward.

When, however, a view is presented to us of the Roman-catholic system of religion, and our mind enabled to comprehend within its grasp the hideous and gigantic form of the woman that sitteth upon the beast, we have before us a great Family Portrait whence are taken all the different sketches of every religion that is congenial with the earthly affections of unregenerate man. It needs, indeed, an anatomist well versed in all the hidden mechanism of the wonderful constitution of man, to exhibit this phenomenon in its true colours. But the principle itself is an established one, and as simple and intelligible as the well known fact, that all individuals of the human race (inasmuch as they are complex beings,) unite in one person the animal, the intellectual, and the moral natures. When we have all these properly developed and regulated by the Spirit of God, according to

the rule of the Word of God, we then have the new man, or the spiritual, or true Christian. But take them in the disunity, or separately, without assigning to each its proper and legitimate sphere, and we then have some of the broad outlines of Popery. This system, in its full development, appeals to all the five senses in its Ordinances or Observances. It vests the Intellect of a reasonable being in the hands of its Ministers, which technically it calls "the Church." It abuses the Moral faculties by confining their exercise to improper objects. And if, after all this, it possesses any Spirituality, it must be in spite of the system itself, and not the result of either the doctrines or practices it upholds.

In delineating for the reader's eye a representation of this gorgeous Babylonish garment, woven by the master hand of All Iniquity as a convenient covering for our natural and unregenerated humanity, I was not a little gratified by meeting with an illustration taken from the pages of our ancient classical annals, which I now present to my readers:—"It is told of Polycletus, the sculptor, that he begun two statues at the same time, one of which he resolved to execute agreeably to the taste of the multitude, and the other agreeably to the rules of art. He indulged every one who came to see the former, by transposing and altering some part or other of it, in compliance with their wishes and suggestions. When the two statues were finished, he exposed them both to public view, and one of them was highly admired and the other ridiculed, on which Polycletus, addressing his visitors, said, 'The statue which you hold in such contempt is your own making, that which you admire I made.'" Such a picture is presented to our eye when we bring the Religion of the multitude and contrast it with the standard laid down in the word of God.

Having been always a close observer of human nature, it did not escape my notice when I became a preacher to others, that all my hearers, having their faculties, endowments, tastes, experience, diverse from each other, would chalk out for me a path peculiar to themselves, which if I had submitted to, I should soon have been lost in *their wilderness*. The path already marked out for me in scripture was a simple one, even Christ Jesus, who, in reply to those whose complaint was, "Lord, we know not whither thou goest, and how can we know the way," said, "I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me," a way of which it is said, also, in another part of the blessed word of God, "the wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein." I preferred to abide by the written rules of my divine Master, rather than attend to any such selfish and unreasonable *propositions*. I regret to add, that I have lived to see not a few cases that have convinced me of the soundness of the principle I then laid down. Many, who have met

with preachers and teachers after their own hearts, have at last been reduced to such a state of mind, as almost to doubt whether they ever had any real religion at all. The opinion of my fellow creature is of small moment indeed to me, as long as my eye can comprehend within its grasp the lovely and undivided image of the Christ of God, and this I have in the volume of the book that is written for my use as plain as I could wish it, *too bright*, even shrouded in the veil of my own nature, to gaze upon without being dazzled by its excellent glory. Human nature, because depraved and delighting in its pravity, turns away from this blissful light; they seek out their many *inventions*, and take the mallet of the *Popish* artist to deface those parts of the image most opposed to their own features, and we find them classed, each according to his *eye*, his *intellect*, his *propensity*, his *imagination*, his *science*, or his *crooked heart*, under the different banners that a world *lying in the Evil One* has unfurled. Give me the *actual creed* of each sect or *heretical* party of which the Religious world is made up, and I will give you an outline of their general character. Now Popery gives to them *all* a place that they can quietly occupy as soon as she has succeeded in darkening the natural eye, or in diverting the spiritual eye from a plain and simple exhibition of the *image of Christ;* her only obstacle is, the written word of God and the power of his Holy Spirit.

I advance these things because I know what is in the heart of man, and I dread as I would dread the tortures of the Inquisition, the torment and agony of my soul in beholding any poor sinner *following me* in any other way, except as a fellow traveller to Christ.

The prospect that meets my eye in Oxford, and, alas! out of Oxford, is of this nature. I behold *men raised up* and followed for their own sakes and not their Lord and Master's. And I fear not only there is a danger of being carried away by the fascinations of a Popery of the man, but by the blandishments of a Popery of the beast. I assert boldly, and without fear of contradiction, that none can, for any length of time, gaze upon and handle the vestments of an unchaste woman without at last falling into her embrace.

This is the *day of the Monvement*, and, under existing circumstances, we should not be surprised at a movement in that quarter where Satan has ever been on the *qui vive*.

There is something very remarkable in the circumstance that two of the King's Professors in the University of Oxford should be brought before the public as prominent characters in those two opposing factions so rampant in the present day,—viz. the Regius Professor of Divinity, and the Regius Professor of Hebrew, both of them Canons in the same Cathedral, occupying the East and West angles of the large square of our most distinguished college.

The former appearing to stretch the strings of the human intellect at the expense of the other equally essential chords of the wonderful and once perfect harp, and carrying his followers into the dazzling regions of theoretical light, and leaving them without any adequate boundary lines to stay their wanderings.

The latter, on the contrary, with all his might, and a superabundance of zeal that perfectly astounds me, striving to haul again into the darkness that has passed, all the powers of an intelligent mind, and the energies of the moral feelings. Far be it from me to attribute anything but sincerity of purpose to either of these persons. It is neither my province nor my aim to search and try any heart but my own. The former of these individuals, having alluded to him only as far as it is necessary to my present argument, I would now take my leave of. I cannot, however, do it, without expressing publicly, as I have done to himself in private, my regret for the steps I have taken to record my decided and unfeigned disapprobation of his elevation to the chair of Divinity in this my University; for I feel convinced that in so doing I have been guilty of infringing the law of Love and the Spirit of the Gospel, (see John, vii. 51,) as well as of offering an uncourteous and ill-advised resistance to the appointment of his Ministers, to whose Supremacy in these realms I had taken a solemn oath; but in respect to the other party, of whom the Regius Professor of Hebrew is the most eminent, I shall have somewhat further to say. *I have singled out two individuals by name*, because I am convinced that they are *bringing me and the church of England at large* into disrepute by their proceedings. They stand in no need of commendation from me on the score of sincerity of purpose, neither would I *willingly* bring my name at all into competition with theirs. They have long been known to the world, and highly and deservedly esteemed, if report be true. I am an individual entirely unknown, except in a very small and insignificant circle; my praise of them would necessarily be regarded as nothing else but "*self-praise.*" And much do I regret, for *their sakes*, that I have nothing but a humble *name* to uphold me; it would be an alleviation to the blow inflicted that it were from the hand of one worthy of the combat. My defence rests entirely upon the balance of truth in its favour, and not upon a name or a character, and I trust it will be estimated in proportion to its deserts. Far be it from me, who know my own short comings and many infirmities, uncourteously or unkindly to assail those whose error lies in the excess, not in the defect, of what the world has ever disliked. It would be a pampering of the depraved appetite of an already satiated multitude, at all times inexpedient, at the present juncture most unwise and unsafe. Far be it also from me, if the Lord has given me to see what they see not, to

raise myself up above them, for what have I got that I have not received at his hands? It may be when these things, and their inevitable tendency, are pointed out by arguments derived from analogy and by an appeal to past history, they will regard it as well meant, and be willing to take a word in season from a humble individual. I fear, indeed, that it may be otherwise; I know what it is, by painful experience, to have the blood raised up to high and feverish excitement, and have found time to be the best remedy. Besides, in these controversies, persons are too apt to let their better judgment and proper feelings be overpowered by their passions, and the extremes, by their very absurdity, operate as the safest check upon those who are really inquiring after truth.

There are a few, I trust, among the members of the University, who are anxiously expecting to see some one who will throw the first stone, and commence this singular controversy. I take my stand upon a very different ground from what many would be disposed to occupy; and with respect to those diversified fields of learning, and science, and historical research, I would gladly leave them for others. I place myself in the front of the battle as a public champion, and draw near unto the enemy, coming in the name of the Lord of Hosts, the God of the armies of Israel. And if I do but fight manfully, and as I could wish to do, the public, whom I serve, will at least give me their tribute of thanks.

I take my stand upon the Book of Common Prayer, as being in accordance with the word of God, and a sufficient earthly guide to myself and all other reasonable members of the Church of England. This book, I say, they are most insidiously attacking. In my humble estimation, the 39 Articles appended to that book are a sufficient commentary, or rather boundary wall, for all who have subscribed to them. I regard, likewise, the Rubric I have on record throughout the said book, as containing quite sufficient instructions for any of its Members or Ministers; and any change in its Vestments, Ceremonies, or Places and Modes of conducting the public worship, ought to emanate from the Ordinary, and if sanctioned by him, communicated to the other inferior Clergy.

Against these it appears to me they, either in letter or spirit, or both, are attempting an unwarrantable innovation.

CHAPTER II.

"If the watchman see the sword come, and blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned; if the sword come and take any person from among them, he is taken away in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at the watchman's hand. So thou, O son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel; therefore thou shalt hear the word at my mouth, and warn them from me."—Ezekiel, xxxiii. 6, 7.

THE different printed documents from which I obtain materials for the present undertaking are seven in number, embracing their Tracts, some Sermons, and a volume of Poetry; I may call them, the *Context*, the *Commentary*, and the *Psalmody*, of the Separating Church.

They comprise three volumes of Tracts; three volumes of Sermons, by the Rev. J. H. Newman, the reputed head of this society; and the Lyra Apostolica. From these books it is my intention to select *as few* specimens as I conceive will be adequate to give my readers an insight into their doctrines and opinions.

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

Their context, or "TRACTS," are headed "FOR THE TIMES," and I fear there is much truth in this their designation. We, doubtless, are come at last to strange times, and I conceive that these tracts, taking them as a whole, are the strangest productions that were ever read. Such an admixture of truth and error, light and darkness, nourishment and poison, as defy the most acute intellect of a highly intellectual age properly to discriminate.

Next the Authors' titles are announced—"MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD." How many, or of what grade or attainments they happen to be, does not appear.

"*Members of the University of Oxford!*" Let me ask, what authority have they to implicate me or any other member of this distinguished University in their strange doings, by such an insidious manœuvre. The honour of my University is at stake if I—whatever others may do—lift not up my voice against it. I never sent forth a tract, or a letter, or any communication, intended for the public eye, without appending my name or my special title to it, and therefore I can boldly ask, what right have these hidden ones to do that which might make me appear guilty in the eyes of the public? What are the names of these our members? Let them be announced, that we may know them, at least by name! Had I not found Dr. Pusey there, by name, I should have scorned to have placed my name alongside of his. I fight in the daylight,

neither with small nor great, but with those only who are not ashamed of their doings. The hidden things of darkness belong to my God, and I leave all secret enemies in his hand. The blessed Jesus, our Lord, was crucified by that city which spiritually is called Sodom,* and Egypt;† and the learned Hebraist just mentioned by name need not for the first time be informed that the root of the former of these names is *secret* (their secret), and of the latter, *oppression.* Their secret is only known in their own circle.

As a Member of the church of England, and now an Officiating Minister in the diocese of Oxford, I demand, what right have any of its Ministers or lay Members to set themselves up as the organ of a body of men who do not even know their names? Had I been ignorant of the mild and meek disposition of our Diocesan, I should have been surprised that he had not long ere this taken up the subject as an insult to his less obtrusive clergy. I cannot believe that this party, notwithstanding their high-sounding words about the deference due to the Episcopal Order, have submitted these anomalous excrescences of their own excited imaginations and singular devices to his inspection or revision. If they have not done this, surely their vaunting about episcopal superintendence is in words only; and how they dare thus offend against their brethren by any insinuations on that head I cannot at all understand.

Next we notice the motto—

"If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?"

This forms a most appropriate heading to the work, and certainly intimates, most efficiently, the quality of these publications. If the trumpet were at this present moment sounding in our ears, I know not who are prepared for the battle. There is a deep sleep fallen upon us; and men seem altogether wedded to their own lusts. There is, I will admit, much talk, on the one hand, about Faith—on the other, about Works; but that lovely handmaiden which alone can unite these two opposite principles, so as to make them work together for our good and the glory of the Saviour, seems to be banished to some desert, or sent out as a missionary to the heathen. Her seat is desolate—yea, Charity, or brotherly love, has failed. She ought to be the chief Moderator, seated, like the head Magistrate in our own University, with her two supporting witnesses from the lower house on either side.

Why should we thus rail at one another, and not rather each help his brother? See what a strange admixture of creeds has been brought about—not unlike the newly-discovered art of amalgamating lead and copper. See how men are countenancing

* סד signifies *to obstruct* or *stop any way*; סוד, *a circle of persons sitting together*, &c., also *a secret*. (See Genesis, xlix. 6.)

† מער, (from ערר,) *pressure, distress,* (PAINS *of hell.*) Psalm, cxvi. 3.

each other in things essentially and diametrically opposed in their very nature to their own avowed sentiments. Our religious world is kept revolving on its axis, with its poles stationary, by the attraction of perpetual excitement. The people seeking to have their feelings worked upon and their passions gratified; and the preachers, instead of bringing this feverish appetite down to the cool temperature of the gospel thermometer, adding fuel to the flame—ignorantly, it may be; but assuredly, if we are to judge from the fruits of their labours, they have prospered in their strange work. I admit the truth of a position held by the party I am now confronting, that too much dependence is placed upon the preaching of man, and too little value attached to Common Prayer; but this ought not to lead any reasonable follower of Christ into an opposite extreme.

The same scene is presented to our eye in the political hemisphere, and it has been too often the besetting sin of the visible church to permit her spirit to be mixed up with the deadly atmosphere of a world lying in the evil one. The political state of our country is nothing but a series of volcanoes, caused by the throes of agitation, instrumentally kept burning by the seditious and selfish manœuvres of men that have no fear of God before their eyes. Who can look upon our poor bleeding sister in Ireland, and not feel every nerve of the human frame stretched to the very utmost limits of endurable tension? All done, too, in order to keep the intellect of a highly-gifted, a warm-hearted, and affectionate nation, in a state of slavery, bordering upon annihilation. In the midst of all this, we see, as it might be expected, a re-action; they who would avoid the extremes of this spirit of the age, are placing too much dependence upon the forms and ceremonies of external devotion, and throwing into the shade—if not entirely extinguishing—the bright rays of the simple gospel of a meek and lowly Saviour.

Who shall prepare himself to the battle? This is the question. I may repeat it; but the Lord alone can give a satisfactory answer. It was by his appointment, in olden time, that his own silver trumpets were sounded both for the battle-field and also for the wilderness procession. (See Numbers, x.) If none of the other allies are able to give an answer to the timely inquiry they have now put forth, the King's Professor of Hebrew, if he have read the fathers of the Israelitish church as carefully and as laboriously as he has studied the fathers of the Gentile church, can set the matter completely at rest; if not, why I will solve it for them. Let us then turn our eye awhile, and meditate upon the encouraging picture, as useful now to the Christian pilgrim as ever it was to the wandering family of Jacob. What was the order of their march? Did not *Judah* lead the forces, with his conquering lion rampant on his standard. Britannia, thou hast now *twelve* quartered upon thy shield; thy Sons need not be told that it is an

emblem of *faith*, or confidence in the Lion of Judah. It was the *royal tribe* that first stood forth, and upon his banner read this encouraging line—

"Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee." (Numb. x. 38.)

Who next prepares to the battle? Is it not the first-born? Reuben?—the beginning of strength, the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power.

"*Emblem of works*," which of necessity flow from a living faith, and never take the lead. See! he raises on his standard the human head most perfect, with his threefold crown, conjoined by heavenly light. His motto I cannot write, for I do not read one on his banner.* Those that *work in the vineyard* are the *silent ones*. I see upon his banner another emblem—"*Thy streams*," O Bellositum, once so pure, but now, I fear, they fall away ingloriously, and thou thyself must float with them to meet thy doom.

But who comes next? It is thy redeemed one, O Israel! Even Levi! All depends on thee; thou occupiest the centre of the line—the fulness of the perfect square. The Ark thy standard, "*the book*" alone thy shield. It is for thee the Battle rages—it is for thee the Strife begins! Oxford, my own tribe, look up, and scan thy banner—read thy heavenly scroll, and keep it in thine heart, and thou shalt never fall, till Judah's noble Captain comes to bless thy waiting eyes.

Who next obeys the signal? Is it not Joseph, the Shepherd of Israel—he follows the ark—his covenant, sealed with blood, is there. Thy shepherd, O Israel, neither slumbers nor sleeps—thou art safe—the gates of hell shall not prevail against thee. Would you learn his emblem? Oxford—antient city—it is well known to thee. The Ox, it crosses the Fords of Reuben, as it follows the holy tribe, and never prospers when thou art smitten or afflicted.

Let Joseph's prayerful cry be thine—

"Give ear, O shepherd of Israel, thou that leadest Joseph like a flock; thou that dwellest between the cherubims shine forth; before Ephraim, and Benjamin, and Manasseh, stir up thy strength, and come and save us." (Psalm, lxxx. 1, 2.)

But who comes the hindermost? It is thy gathering standard, O Dan. And what his watchword—what his mystic sign?

"When my father and mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up. Teach me thy way, O Lord, and lead me in a plain path because of mine enemies." (Psalm, xxvii. 10, 11.)

Upon his floating banner, mark the fearful sign—an eagle, emblem of this our day, when man, on the soaring wing of intellect, would even dare to approach the solar ray.

* If Reuben had any motto upon his banner, it was, "Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord."—(Deut. vi. 4.)

"——— Ambition now
Soars to its darling height, and, eagle-like,
Looks at the sun of power, enjoys its blaze,
And grows familiar with the brightness."

Judah! thou hast long mourned piteously for the day when the cruel Herod planted his eagle standard and defiled thy sanctuary. This was the cause of all that consternation which shook thy Priesthood so mysteriously, as they gazed through the rent veil of their temple upon the deserted seat of mercy.

Oxford! take warning, ere it be too late, lest he who lifts the eagle be thy scourge. For Dan, (*an unsealed tribe*) without his Serpent, captive-bound within his eagle's talons, shall be a "*a serpent by the way, an adder in the path, biting the horse's heels, so that the rider shall fall backward.*" (See Gen. xlix. 7.)

These four standards form the Cherubic emblem, as we find it described in the first chapter of the prophecy of Ezekiel.

And now, let me ask those who read this volume, whether we are, like Israel, ready for the battle well nigh begun? Are we not more like to Babel (*citadel of confusion*) than to Jerusalem,* *the dwelling* (*or vision*) *of peace.*

But as for me, with the good hand of my God upon me, I will stand up, and if alone I heed it not, for I stand up in His cause, and fight His battle, who has said—

"Fear not, thou worm, Jacob, and ye men of Israel; I will help thee, saith the Lord and thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel." (Is. xli. 14.)

I hate *confusion, Zerubbabel*† is my mystic sign—*banisher of confusion;* and if, for my Master's name, I am still to be "*the banished man,*" He who has been with me as I passed through the waters will not fail nor forsake me if the flame should kindle upon me. In myself, I am but a poor, weak, and fallible being—the creature of a day,—in him who strengthens me, I shall be more than a conqueror.

I ask, once more, "*Who shall prepare himself to the battle?*" To the question I as boldly answer, They alone are ready who know, from a blessed experience, the all-sufficiency of the one offering and sacrifice of Christ to satisfy the soul in its many trials and difficulties, who can stand out in the battle-field of conflicting principles, with the love of God in Christ shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Ghost.

* יְרוּשָׁלָם—Jerusalem; the same as *a vision of peace,* or *a perfect vision;* from יִרְאֶה, *he will see,* and שָׁלֵם, *peace,* and שָׁלֵם, *be perfected.* Formerly called שָׁלֵם, Shalem, as in Genes. xiv. 8; to which afterwards, יִרְאֶה, *he will see* or *provide,* being added, which was given by Moses to Mount Moriah.—Gen. xxii. 14.

† זְרֻבָּבֶל, Zerubbabel—*the dispersion of confusion*—from זָרָה, to *scatter,* (Exod. xxxii. 20,) בָּבֶל, *confusion,* (Gen. xi. 9.)

CHAPTER III.

"He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ. Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." —Ephesians, iv. 11, 12, 13.

APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION.—(First vol. of Tracts.)

THESE tracts appear to have sprouted forth from that root of bitterness which has from time to time defiled the visible church of Christ, and is the fountain whence these unclean and bitter streams emanate which are now troubling our afflicted Zion—I mean, the Apostolical Succession.

"Christ has not left his church without claim of its own upon the attention of men. Surely not. Hard Master he cannot be, to bid us oppose the world, yet give us no credentials for so doing. There are some who rest their divine mission on their own unsupported assertion; others, who rest it upon their popularity; others, on their success; and others, who rest it upon their temporal distinctions. This last case has, perhaps, been too much our own; I fear we have neglected the real ground on which our authority is built,—*our apostolical descent.*

"We have been born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. The Lord Jesus Christ gave his Spirit to his apostles; they in turn laid their hands on those who should succeed them; and these again on others; and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present bishops, who have appointed us as their assistants, and in some sense representatives.

"*Now every one of us believes this.*"—(No. 1, p. 2.)

"Why then should any man here in Britain fear, or hesitate boldly to assert, the authority of the bishops and pastors of the church, on grounds strictly evangelical and spiritual: as bringing men nearest to Christ our Saviour, and conforming them most exactly to his mind, indicated both by his own conduct, and by the words of his Spirit in the apostolic writings? Why should we talk so much of an *establishment*, and so little of an APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION? Why should we not seriously endeavour to impress our people with this plain truth;—that by separating themselves from our communion, they separate themselves not only from a decent, orderly, useful society, but from *the only Church in this realm which has a right to be quite sure that she has the Lord's body to give to his people?*"—(No. 4, p. 5.)

"For it is obvious, that, among other results of the primitive doctrine of the apostolical succession, thoroughly considered and followed up, it would make the relation of pastor and parishioner far more engaging, as well as more awful, than it is usually considered at present. Look on your pastor as acting by man's commission, and you may respect the authority by which he acts, you may venerate and love his personal character; but it can hardly be called a *religious* veneration; there is nothing, properly, *sacred* about him. But once learn to regard him as 'the Deputy of Christ, for reducing man to the obedience of God;' and everything about him becomes changed, everything stands in a new light. In public and in private, in church and at home, in consolation and in censure, and

above all, in the administration of the holy sacraments, a faithful man naturally considers, 'By this his messenger Christ is speaking to me; by his very being and place in the world, he is a perpetual witness to the truth of the sacred history, a perpetual earnest of communion with our Lord to those who come duly prepared to his table.' In short it must make just all the difference in every part of a clergyman's duty, whether he do it, and be known to do it, in that faith of his commission from Christ, or no."—(No. 4, p. 7.)

"Surely, before the blessing of a millennium were vouchsafed to us, if it be to come, the whole Christian world has much to confess in its several branches. Rome has to confess her papal corruptions, and her cruelty towards those who refuse to accept them. The Christian communities of Holland, Scotland, and other countries, [have to confess] their neglect of the apostolical order of ministers. The Greek church has to confess its saint-worship, its formal fasts, and its want of zeal. The churches of Asia their heresy. All parts of Christendom have much to confess and reform. We have our sins as well as the rest. Oh that *we* would take the lead in the renovation of the church catholic on scripture principles!"—(No. 8, p. 4.)

I make no remarks on these extracts. They are so simple one would imagine that they were written for children. Their meaning is self-evident. I shall merely use them as an introduction to the Apostolicity question.

This subject, I confess, I am quite at a loss to know how to handle as it deserves. It is, however, the main and all-absorbing dogma of this school of theology. I may call it their shibboleth, the "stream of separation."*

I must, therefore, say somewhat concerning it. In the first place, with respect to this *apostolical succession*, as now advocated by them, I can find no traces of its existence among the records of the church of England. Certainly, if we possess it, we keep it *secret*, and bring it not forward as a subject of public moment. Our reformers were too much humbled, by their merciful deliverance from the polluting grasp of Babylon, to boast of their *succession;* it was a sore and bitter subject to their souls. By such a continuation of the visible church, *all boasting* seemed to have been for ever excluded. It was of the Lord's mercies that they were not doomed to be partakers with Babylon of her plagues. They, therefore, not only did not make much of this succession; but said not a word about it—I mean in their *public* and *corporate* capacity. That the Blessed Head of the Church has preserved in this country, from the earliest period of its history, a Church partaking in FORM of the Apostolical pattern, comprehending a threefold order of ministers, I think few would presume to gainsay; but to advance anything with respect to its purity, or its being, in its external character, the delight of the Lord, and honourable, is what none would dare to affirm who have the spirit of Christ in them. I am amused at the ignorance of those who circulate the palatable tale of the continuation of the Church

* See Judges, chap. xii. 6; also marginal reading—"Which signifies stream or flood."

of England through that sink of iniquity, apostate Rome. If Rome has any apostolicity here, it is by gross usurpation and bare-faced imposition. The ancient British Church held out against her abominations for many a century, even after the arrival of the monk Augustine. Whence did he get his authority to ravin as a wolf amidst the heritage of the Lord in Britain? Had he not to go to a foreign land for his orders, and had he not also to enforce his authority, by having recourse to the civil power? What mean those daggers in the shield of the primate of all England, if it be not to perpetuate the nature of the Supremacy and the Episcopacy of Rome? No! Rome has its continuation of apostolicity, if we can call anything belonging to such abominations by that name, through the British Church, and is permitted to linger still upon our shores, because Britannia has a tender heart, and, while she hates the cruelty of the system, yearns over the persons of her deluded sons and daughters.*

And what do men mean when they talk of the apostolical succession? Do they mean to say that the *bishops of our church* are *apostles*, or hold the same office as the apostles did? If so, they must have the signs of apostles, and work miracles. "Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds."—(2 Cor. xii. 12.)

It cannot have escaped the notice of every attentive reader of the word of God, that in order to apostleship, it was necessary to have seen *the risen Saviour;* as we learn from the writings of the last of the apostles, the *thirteenth:*—"And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time."—(1 Cor. xv. 8.)

Besides, it does not shew either good taste or good sense in any one to sound *his own trumpet before him*, and certainly in the humble followers of Jesus Christ it is a most absurd anomaly to advocate humility of mind, and at the same time boast of a name. Let *others* say, "*There go the successors of the apostles, so meek, so lowly, so full of love and good works.*" Let *us* rather boast of our *apostolical success.* Our constant theme for rejoicing, and our boast, is this:—"God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world."—(Galatians, vi. 14.)

We may, for aught I can shew to the contrary, have the apostolical succession; but, if we have, let us not be behindhand in our apostolical lives and conversation. The poor outcast descendants of the faithful Jacob are witnesses to this day of an uninterrupted line of *succession*, i.e., from those who *have the covenant of the circumcision* in the flesh; but if Abraham *their* father were now to visit them, how little joy could fill his breast to see them "outcast and forlorn," &c.

* See some extracts on the subject in Appendix III. (Letters C. and D.)

"Yes, Israel's sons, by scorpion curses driven,
Outcasts of earth and reprobates of Heaven,
Through the wild world in friendless exile stray,
Remorse and Shame sole comrades of their way.
O thou, *our* Guide, *our* Father, and *our* Lord,
Lov'd for thy mercies—for thy power adored,
To Israel's woes a pitying ear incline,
And raise from earth thy long neglected vine."

HEBER'S PALESTINE.

It seems as if the Lord, in his preservation of the seed of Jacob, had given to the world as plain a proof as it is possible of the folly of man's placing any dependence upon names or outward privileges. Which of all the twelve tribes are now distinguishable? Let the Jew himself reply, and he will tell us, Benjamin and Levi, only; all others are of uncertain origin; even the regal Judah is not to be found, or, if claiming his descent, is not recognised by Levi and Benjamin, who never deserted their elder brother. The sceptre of *Judah* is gone, a sure proof that the Anointed one is come. The Gentile Church has taken its place, as the Spiritual Seed of the House of Judah, descended by adoption from Christ himself, the Root and Branch of the House of David.

What was Judah? was it not the *Head?* And what were these tribes that now boast their origin from Levi and Benjamin? Are they not the *Heart* and the *Right-hand* of Israel?

Was not Benjamin the least, and at one time, like his representative Saul of Tarsus, not meet to be called a tribe of the Lord? Was he not, at one time, so reduced, by reason of his iniquity, as to be almost blotted out from the book of the tribes, preserved only by a special interference of Providence?—(See Judges, xx.)

And who was Levi?—They never had any inheritance in the land, but being the redeemed ones of Israel, God has, notwithstanding their great sin, not cast out their name from before him. The family of Aaron still are in existence, and the time will most assuredly arrive, when they shall minister once more before the Lord at Jerusalem.

What is this chorus of *apostolical* succession, but a most *fearful* evidence of the falling away of the Gentile church, so plainly foretold by the mouth of *our own* great apostle:—

"For I speak to you Gentiles, inasmuch as I am the apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office: If by any means I may provoke to emulation *them which are* my flesh, and might save some of them. For if the casting away of them *be* the reconciling of the world, what *shall* the receiving *of them be* but life from the dead? For if the firstfruit *be* holy, the lump *is* also *holy*: and if the root *be* holy, so *are* the branches. And if some of the branches be broken off, and thou, being a wild olive tree, wert graffed in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive tree; boast not against the branches: But if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee. Thou wilt say then, The branches were broken off, that I might be graffed in. Well; because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not highminded, but fear: for if God

spared not the natural branches, *take heed* lest he also spare not thee."—(Romans, xi. 13—21.)

The *spirit* breathing through this atmosphere, falsely called apostolical, is most deadly, and must eventually destroy those that send it forth. Who, or what, are *we*, that we should boast? Who are we, that we should kindle our own fires about our camp, and warm ourselves thereby. Why should we look upon all other *denominations* and foreign churches as so many herds of wild cattle, and deny them the sure and tender mercies of David, because they are not following the Saviour by the light of that *earthly* lantern, or dimly burning torch, which we hold forth? 'Tis not the Spirit of Jehovah Jesus that ever thus instructs his faithful followers.

"And John answered him, saying, Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and he followeth not us; and we forbade him, because he followeth not us. But Jesus said, Forbid him not; for there is no man which shall do a miracle in my name, that can lightly speak evil of me. For he that is not against us is on our part."—(Mark, ix. 38, 39, 40.)

Alas, how truly applicable to the present distress is that ancient parable of Jotham, the youngest son of Jerubbaal:—

"The trees went forth *on a time* to anoint a king over them; and they said unto the olive-tree, Reign thou over us. But the olive tree said unto them, Should I leave my fatness wherewith by me they honour God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees? And the trees said to the fig-tree, Come thou, *and* reign over us. But the fig-tree said unto them, Should I forsake my sweetness, and my good fruit, and go to be promoted over the trees? Then said the trees unto the vine, Come thou, *and* reign over us. And the vine said unto them, Should I leave my wine, which cheereth God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees? Then said all the trees unto the bramble, Come thou, *and* reign over us. And the bramble said unto the trees, If in truth ye anoint me king over you, *then* come *and* put your trust in my shadow; and if not, let fire come out of the bramble, and devour the cedars of Lebanon."—(Judges, ix. 8—15.)

Is not this newly-revived theory, this fond thing, vainly invented, too much like the bramble of Abimelech? And if we persist in thus setting up our bramble, we may look for, in its season, the dreadful end of Abimelech and his party.

Under the head of Bishops I take the following extracts:—

"It may be asked, are these spiritual sons of the Apostles still alive? No;—all this took place many hundred years ago. These sons and heirs of the Apostles died long since. But then they in turn did not leave the world without committing their sacred office to a fresh set of ministers, and they in turn to another, and so on even to this day. Thus the Apostles had, first, spiritual sons; then spiritual grandsons; then great-grandsons; and so on, from one age to another, down to the present time.

"Again, it may be asked, *who* are at this time the successors and spiritual descendants of the Apostles? I shall surprise some people by the answer I shall give, though it is very clear, and there is no doubt about it; the bishops. They stand in the place of the Apostles, as far as the office of ruling is concerned;*

* As far as the office of *ruling*, not as far as the office of *teaching*, is concerned. The Apostles were both *inspired teachers* (Acts, ii. 3, 4,) and *bishops* (John, xx.

and, whatever we ought to do, had we lived when the Apostles were alive, the same ought we to do for the bishops. He that despiseth them, despiseth the Apostles. It is our duty to reverence them for their office sake; they are the shepherds of Christ's flock. If we knew them well, we should love them for the many excellent graces they possess, for their piety, loving-kindness, and other virtues. But we do not know them; yet still, for all this, we may honour them as the ministers of Christ, without going so far as to consider their *private* worth; and we may keep to their 'fellowship'* as we should to that of the Apostles. I say, we may all thus honour them even without knowing them in private, because of their high office; for they have the marks of Christ's presence upon them, in that they *witness* for Christ, and *suffer* for him as the Apostles did.

"We must honour the bishop, because he *is* the bishop; for his *office* sake, because he is Christ's minister, stands in the place of the Apostles, is the shepherd of our souls on earth while Christ is away. This is faith, to look at things not as seen, but as unseen; to be as sure that the bishop is Christ's appointed representative, as if we actually saw him work miracles, as St. Peter and St. Paul did, as you may read in the book of the Acts of the Apostles.

"But I must now mention the more painful part of the subject, i.e. the *sufferings* of the bishops, which is the second mark of their being our living apostles. I may say, bishops have undergone this trial in every age. As the first Apostles were hated and opposed by the world, so have they ever been. I do not say they have been always opposed in the same way. In these latter times, they have experienced the lesser sufferings of bearing slander, reproach, threats, vexations, and thwartings in their effort to do good. Time was, when they were even persecuted, cruelly slain, by fire and sword. That time (though God avert it!) may come again. But, whether or not Satan is permitted so openly to rage, certainly some kinds of persecution are to be expected in our day; nay, such have begun. It is not so very long since the great men of the earth told them to *prepare for persecution;* it is not so very long since the mad people answered the summons, and furiously attacked them, and seemed bent on destroying them in all parts of the country.

"Then you will honour us with a purer honour than many men do now, namely, as those (if I may so speak) who are intrusted with the keys of heaven and hell, as the heralds of mercy, as the denouncers of woe to wicked men, as intrusted with the awful and mysterious privilege of dispensing Christ's body and blood, as far greater than the most powerful and the wealthiest of men in our unseen strength and our heavenly riches." (No. 10, pp. 3—6.)

How far the bishops of our church may feel themselves flattered by such expressions of devoted affection, it rests with them alone to decide, but I cannot but think that, for the sake of consistency at least, this confederacy should have consulted with their own bishop, and obtained his special sanction for this their literary publication, and dedicated it to him. Not being certain who the members of this tract society may happen to be, I am unable to say whether I am correct or not in my conjectures; but I strongly suspect that not a few of this party have appended their names to that address so recently sent up from Oxford to our respected Primate. If they are among the number of those who signed the said document, they have unconsciously been affixing their hand and seal to their own confession of guilt, since, upon reading it,

21, 23.) Their successors are bishops only, not inspired teachers; and rule *according* to the Apostles, teaching,—not absolutely, as the Apostles may be said to have done.

* Acts, ii. 42.

I find a clause of this description, both uncalled for and impolitic in the extreme:—

"We feel assured, that, notwithstanding some local and temporary disaffection, the bishops of our church may depend with full confidence, not only upon the faithful support of their clergy, but on the attachment of the great body of the people.

"We may be permitted to add, that we feel much more confidence in the collective wisdom of the bishops of our church, *than in combinations (now so frequent) of private individuals;* and we shall ever be ready to offer our dutiful and earnest co-operation in such plans as may be suggested, by their united counsels, to extend the efficiency of our venerable church, without weakening the defences and safeguards of her purity."

Can this their combination be called anything else but a *combination of private individuals*, and one, too, of the very worst description, their names not being made known either to the Public, the Clergy, or the Learned Body (in the expressive language of the beast, "ad populum, ad clerum, ad scholas,") for whom they are so indefatigably at work. And I must, moreover, add, that if they themselves display such a glaring inconsistency in their Public Acts, surely they ought to be very careful how they attribute improper motives to others, who are at least open and straightforward in their erroneous Combinations.

While such unreasonable claims are being brought forward in behalf of the clergy, it has not escaped me that there is much ignorance of matters of fact existing on that head. There is no individual, I believe, more jealous than I am myself of the proper and reasonable rights of the Christian minister; but I cannot brook such a thing as laying in a claim to any privilege at the expense of truth, and without the sanction of God's pure and written word. Persons, in general, seem disposed to regard the power and attributes of a bishop, or an episcopally ordained minister of the church of England, as all but sovereign and absolute, as if they obtained some extraordinary influence and character by virtue of a succession from the apostles, or some such source. Now, I imagine few persons are aware that the office of ministering in the congregation is derived, not from a bishop or archbishop, but from the *visible church.* Three members, *at least*, of the visible church, being in full orders, having care of souls, as rectors, vicars, &c. (as the case may be), have public authority given them in the congregation to choose and call to the work of the ministry such only as they can deliberately pronounce to be, as far as they are capable of forming an opinion, fit and proper persons; whilst, at the same time, that particular congregation or *religious society*, from which the candidate for orders is set apart, has a power, through any of its members, whether of the laity or clergy, to prevent it, by alleging any lawful impediment whenever the banns of ordination are published in their presence. This publishing of banns is known better by the

term "*Si quis.*" (See papers on the subject in Appendix III., letter E.) A certificate of this "Si quis" having been duly read, and no impediment alleged, must be attested by the officiating minister, and one of the churchwardens; it is then forwarded to the bishop. Testimonials given by the societies of the respective colleges in our universities are similar as regards the principle, though varying in the form of words. Much attention has been drawn to this subject, in this University, since the publication of a sermon on 1 Corinthians, ii. 12, preached before the University of Oxford, at St. Mary's, on Sunday, Feb. 6, 1831; and not only has greater caution been exercised in granting testimonials to doubtful characters, but in some cases, I believe, the wording of the said testimonial has undergone a modification to suit the state of the times. These papers, together with a certificate of the age of the party, being forwarded to and approved of by the bishop; the candidate is sent to the bishop for his examination—to be examined by the bishop in person, in the presence of at least three of his own clergy, being in full orders; or in case the bishop have any lawful impediment, the examination is to be conducted by one of the said clergy in the presence of the rest. (See papers in Appendix III., letter E.) If the said examination should prove satisfactory to the bishop and his clergy, the candidate is admitted into orders by the imposition of hands; in the ordering of a Deacon by the imposition of the hands of the bishop alone, but in that of a Priest, there must of necessity be three at least of the order of priests present to lay hands upon the candidate at the same time with the bishop. This I look upon as an incontrovertible proof that neither a bishop, nor even an archbishop, is vested by the church of England with any personal power of admitting any individual to the office of a priest to minister in the visible church. That any of the bishops depart from these very wise and proper regulations, I do not imagine to be at all probable, particularly in the present day, when they cannot but be aware they have many most unreasonable and bitter enemies openly against them watching for their halting, and so few sincere friends, while those very persons who profess to be their most zealous advocates persist in holding them up to the scorn of the public, as if they alone were responsible for admitting into the vineyard those labourers who do not adorn the doctrine of the blessed Saviour by their life and conversation. The blame ought to be shared by all parties concerned equally—first, it lays at the door of those who call and send them, then upon the congregation that permits the banns to be published, and allege no cause, when they know there is much cause, why they should not be admitted into holy orders; but least of all are the bishops to be complained of, for they can only form an estimate of the respective candidates by

the profession made and the examination held in their presence, as any other fallible human beings; and if they were to presume to do so upon a bare suspicion of motives, they would then be very justly to be reprehended for taking to themselves the prerogative of Jehovah, who alone knoweth what is in the heart of man. If any one be found daring enough to say that these wise regulations of our forefathers are *mere matters of form*, I say they are begging the question altogether, and condemning themselves. Who, I would ask, is to be blamed that they are made mere matters of form? Do we not all share and share alike in the disgraceful imputation? Is the proverb true,—like people, like priest?—if so, let the people hold their peace till they themselves are free from the guilt alleged: the word of God said of Israel, in olden time, "*My people love to have it so, and what will ye do in the end thereof?*" If we sow the wind we may expect to reap the whirlwind. A man who sits at table for form's sake, may be content to gaze at dishes garnished out, though empty, or stones, instead of bread; but they who are hungry and thirsty must have food convenient set before them, if not, they certainly are not to be blamed if they get up and seek for it where it may be procured. Most assuredly, as long as we refuse each to help one another in setting convenient food before our hungry flocks, it is no sign of the spirit of our merciful High Priest, who was always touched with a feeling of our infirmities, to inveigh against, or persecute, those who may be striving to lay before their followers the best provisions they may have, merely because they have no claims to the apostolical line of genealogical descent. Though I feel not the slightest inclination to hold out any encouragement to a Dissenter or Seceder as such, I can look upon each and all of them as brethren in the flesh; and the greater the error into which I perceive them to have fallen, so much the more compassion do I feel due to them on my part, and the more earnestly do I pray to God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, the Prince of Peace, that he would give us grace seriously to lay to heart the great dangers we are in by our unhappy divisions, and take away all hatred and prejudice, and whatever else may hinder us from godly union and concord, that we may be all of one heart and of one soul, united in one holy bond of truth and peace, of faith and charity; and that I may be able to appeal to the Members of my own Apostolical Church, as living witnesses of the truth of our glowing professions of holy love, and that the universal church may be so guided and governed by the good Spirit of Jehovah, that all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life.

CHAPTER IV.

TRACT ON BAPTISM.—DR. PUSEY, ETC.

"BAPTISM is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened, but it is also a sign of Regeneration or new Birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive Baptism rightly are grafted into the Church; the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; Faith is confirmed, and Grace increased, by virtue of prayer unto God. The Baptism of young Children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ."—ARTICLE XXVII.

THE ceremony of baptism always has been, and I suppose always will be, a subject of discussion and difficulty among men, inasmuch as we are all naturally prone to put the sign instead of the thing itself. To attempt a clear exposition of a subject about which so many learned and pious men have been perpetually differing, is not my present intention; but just to ascertain what the Article of my own church says on that head, and, at the same time, strive to discover what Dr. Pusey supposes it to mean.

I. It asserts of baptism, that it is (1) a sign of profession, and (2) a mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened. It is also—

II. A SIGN of regeneration, or new birth, whereby (1) as by *an instrument*, they that receive it rightly are *grafted into the church*. (2) The promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are VISIBLY signed and sealed. (3) Faith is confirmed, and (4) grace increased, by *virtue of prayer to God*.

The Catechism of the same church declares, with respect to those that come to be baptized, that it requires two things by way of profession:—1. Repentance, whereby they forsake sin; 2. Faith, whereby they stedfastly believe the promises of God made to them in that sacrament.

I conceive that, from these premises, we may fairly and legitimately draw this inference, that there must be an inward or spiritual change (as far as it is possible for man to judge by evidence afforded to his senses) before the church of England can admit any adult to the rite of baptism; consequently, REGENERATION, or the new birth, in the adult, takes place before baptism, else a *visible* church could have no evidence to authorize it in the use of such a seal as it does upon the admission of each visible member into

its body. Baptism, according to the definition of it, is the instrument or document, or deed of conveyance, whereby the convert to the faith of Christ is admitted to the privileges of the visible church, the *first* of which is that of "*common prayer.*" The subject of infant baptism I look upon as quite a different thing; and surely, if the church to which I belong does not regard baptism as conferring regeneration, or the new birth, upon the adult recipient, the wisdom of those that framed its articles and liturgy forbids us to conceive that it presumed to sanction anything of the sort in the case of infants. For man to limit God's power, or to mete out a certain period of time when he is to beget his own children, is only characteristic of man's presumption. I, for my own part, am quite satisfied with the words of the article, which says—"The baptism of young children is in anywise to be retained in the church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ."

Now, in the case of Dr. Pusey and his hidden associates, I complain not that they have their opinion, much less that they differ from me; but I do complain that they, by this mode of unfair attack upon us, should obtrude their private and unauthorized judgment upon the public, as if they were delegated to such a responsible end. What Dr. Pusey's real sentiments may be on this complex question, I confess my utmost reasoning and inquisitorial powers are incapable of deciding; but so far I have understood him, that he is averse to, and dissatisfied with, the literal interpretation of the church of England, as contained in the article on that head. And now let him speak for himself:—

"The doctrine, then of baptismal regeneration (rightly understood) may have a very important station in God's scheme of salvation, although many of us may not understand its relation to the rest, and those who do not believe it cannot understand it. For this is the method of God's teaching throughout—'First believe, and then you shall understand.' And this may be said, in Christian warning, against those hard words in which Christians sometimes allow themselves; as 'the deadening doctrine of baptismal regeneration;' language which can only serve to darken the truth to those who use it, and which is by so much the more dangerous, since all Christians believe that regeneration *sometimes* accompanies baptism; and since baptismal regeneration was the doctrine of the universal church of Christ in its holiest ages, and our own reformers (to whom, on other points, men are wont to appeal as having been highly gifted with God's Holy Spirit,) retained this doctrine, a private Christian ought not to feel so confident in his own judgment as to denounce, in terms so unmeasured, what may, after all, be the teaching of God; 'lest haply he be found to fight against God.'"
—Tract on Baptism, pp. 3, 4.

"First, then, I would remark on the fact, that whereas, confessedly, regeneration is in scripture connected with baptism, it nowhere is disconnected from it. Baptism is spoken of as the source of our spiritual birth, as no other cause is, save God: we are not said, namely, to be regenerated by faith, or love, or prayer, or any grace which God worketh in us, but to be 'born *of* water and the Spirit' in contrast to our birth *of* the flesh; to be saved by the washing of the regeneration, or the new birth, in like manner as we are said to be born *of* God, or *of* incorruptible seed. Other causes are, indeed, mentioned as connected with our

new birth, or rather that one comprehensive cause, the whole dispensation of mercy in the gospel, as, 'born *of* seed incorruptible *through* the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever,' 'in Jesus Christ have I begotten you *through* the gospel,' 'of his own will begat he us by the word of truth;' but no other instrument is spoken of as having the same relation to our heavenly birth as this of water."—Tract on Baptism, p. 12.

"There is no hint that regeneration can be obtained in any way but by baptism, or if totally lost, could be restored."—Ibid., p. 14.

"The very error of the Novatians, that none who fell away after baptism could be renewed to repentance, will approach nearer to the truth of the gospel than the supposition that persons could be admitted as dead members into Christ, and then afterwards, for the first time, quickened. Our life is, throughout, represented as commencing, when we are by baptism made members of Christ and children of God; that life may, through our negligence, afterwards decay, or be choked, or smothered, or well nigh extinguished, and by God's mercy again be renewed and refreshed: but a *commencement* of spiritual life after baptism, a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness, at any other period than that one first introduction into God's covenant, is as little consonant with the general representations of holy scripture as a commencement of physical life long after our natural birth is with the order of his providence."—Ibid.

"To this end he reminds them that they needed nothing out of Christ; for they *had been* filled with him, who filleth all in all, the Head of all rule and all power; therefore they needed no other power, but only his,—they *had* received the *true* circumcision, and so could require no other; they *had been* disencumbered of the sinful mass with which they were naturally encumbered, 'the body of the sins of the flesh,' by the circumcision which Christ bestowed: their old man *had been* buried with him in baptism; they *had been* raised with him (as they ascended out of the water) by a power as mighty as that which raised him from the dead: all their old sins *had been* forgiven, and they themselves re-born from the dead, and *been* made partakers of the life of Christ, 'quickened with him;' the powers of darkness *had been* spoiled of their authority over them, and exhibited as captives, and dethroned. All these things had been bestowed upon them by baptism; the mercies of God had been there appropriated to them; sins blotted out; their sinful nature dead, buried in Christ's tomb: death changed into life: and therefore, as they had no need, so neither were they to make void these gifts by trusting in any other ordinances, or looking to any other Mediator."—Ibid., p. 32.

"But it were the very error of the rationalists to suppose that God's Holy Spirit, when he took the words used in Jewish theology, and employed them to express Christian truth, conveyed nothing more by them than they would have meant in the mouth of any ordinary Jew; and did not rather, when receiving them into the service of the sanctuary, stamp them anew, and impress upon them His own living image. Since, namely, baptism is not a *mere* initiatory rite, but is an appointed means for conveying the Holy Spirit, the language must in some respect be conformed to our higher privileges; and, instead of the covenant being said to be sealed to us, we are declared to be sealed by the Holy Spirit: since the Holy Spirit is then first pledged and imparted to us, and the earnest then given us is a pledge, that unless we wilfully break off the seal, we shall be carried on to eternal life, with larger instalments of our promised possession, until 'the possession, purchased' for us by Christ's precious bloodshedding, shall be fully bestowed upon us, and God's pledge be altogether 'redeemed.'"—Ibid., p. 37.

"We admit, however, that baptism *is* a sacrament; and if so, it must convey the grace annexed to it, whenever no obstacle is placed in its way by the unworthiness of the recipient. For this has been the notion of the whole Christian church, that the sacraments are not bare signs, but do convey that also which they signify. Since, then, infants are incapable of opposing any obstacle, we must believe that the grace of baptism, 'a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness,' is hereby conferred upon all who are brought to be engraffed

into their Saviour by baptism. For the question is not, whether infant baptism be 'most agreeable to the institution of Christ,' but (it being allowed so to be) whether the full privileges of baptism be thereby conveyed to all who are brought to Christ in it, or whether some receive the reality, others the empty sign only?" —Ibid., pp. 83, 84.

DR. PUSEY'S THEORY.	THE ARTICLE ON BAPTISM.
1. "All Christians believe that regeneration sometimes accompanies baptism."	1. The church of England, in her comment upon the subject of baptism, in the above article, does not believe that regeneration, or the new birth, accompanies baptism in *any* adult recipient, inasmuch as she looks upon them, before she admits them to that privilege, as already partakers of faith and grace, which can never exist in any that are unregenerate, or not born again, of which she positively asserts *they are increased* (not given) AT *baptism.*
2. "Baptism is spoken of as the SOURCE of our spiritual birth, as no other CAUSE is, save God."	2. The Article does not encourage the notion that baptism is either a *source* or a *cause* of regeneration, or new birth.
3. "There is no hint that regeneration can be obtained in any way but by baptism, or if totally lost, could be restored."	3. No Article of the church of England either sanctions the fond fancy that regeneration, or the new birth, can be obtained at baptism, much less that spiritual life, which is the perfect work of the Lord and Giver of life, can ever be lost, if he is its Author.
4. "Our life is represented throughout as commencing when we are, by baptism, made members of Christ and children of God."	4. None of the Thirty-nine Articles represent any such thing.
5. "All these things had been bestowed upon them by baptism."	5. The Article on baptism represents them in a very different light; viz., as being visibly signed and sealed to the baptized person (already in possession of them) at their admission into the visible church.
6. "Baptism is not a mere initiatory rite, but an appointed means of conveying the Holy Spirit."	6. The Article does not in anywise encourage such an idea; nothing is intimated on the subject of conveying the Spirit; there is, however, of increasing faith and grace in those who worthily receive the same, but not by the baptism itself, but by virtue of prayer to God.
7. "Baptism is a sacrament; and if so, must convey the grace annexed to it, whenever no obstacle is placed in its way by the unworthiness of the recipients."	7. The Article of our church simply affirms that *grace* is INCREASED at baptism, not CONVEYED to those that worthily receive the same.

The opinion of the Fathers on baptism:—

"St. Augustine's unhesitating faith:—'Most excellently, (saith he, writing against the Pelagians,) do the Punic Christians entitle baptism itself no other

than salvation, and the sacrament of the body of Christ no other than life.' Whence, except from an old, as I deem, and apostolical tradition, by which they hold it inserted into the church of Christ, that, without baptism, and the participation of the Lord's table, no man can arrive, either at the kingdom of God, or salvation and life eternal. This, as we have said, is what scripture testifies. For what do they who entitle baptism salvation, hold, other than what is written, 'He hath saved us by the washing of regeneration;' and what Peter saith, 'The like figure whereunto baptism doth now save you?' "—Tract on Baptism, p. 21.

"The Fathers, certainly, of the Christian church, educated in holy gratitude for their baptismal privileges, saw herein, not the death only to sin, which we were to die, but that also which in Christ we had died, the actual weakening of our corrupt propensities, by being baptized and incorporated into Christ; not the life only which we are to live, but the life which, by baptism, was infused in us, and which as many of us as are now 'walking in newness of life,' are living in Christ by virtue of that life."—Ibid., p. 22.

"It appears also a great charity of our church, that, whereas we know not when the seeds of evil first spring up in a child, she has ordered baptism to be administered at the earliest period practicable, that so the spiritual antidote might be infused into its frame before the latent poison of inherited corruption should begin to work. The principle that children are regenerated by virtue of the sacrament of the baptism, because they *put no bar* of an opposite will, is laid down in the broadest way by St. Augustine, in answer to an African bishop, who felt some difficulty how the sponsors could declare so positively that 'the child brought to baptism believed in God, and the rest, whereas it had no knowledge of God, and the sponsors or parent knew not whether it would hereafter believe and do these things.' 'The little one, then,' St. Augustine says, 'although he have not as yet that faith which consists in the will of the believer, is made a faithful one *by the sacrament of faith itself*. For as he is answered for as believing, so also he is called faithful, not by assenting to the substance thereof by his mind, but by *receiving the sacrament of that substance of faith*,' " &c. &c.—Ibid., pp. 84, 85.

It is neither my intention nor wish to make any remarks on the views held by the Fathers; the Anglican church has no need of any such commentary upon her Articles; and I think the reader will coincide with me, that their opinion and Dr. Pusey's are more agreeable to each other than either of them are to the 27th Article.

The learned Professor, in his eagerness to make his own views as prominent as a multiplicity of words, and quotations, and references, can render them, seems to have forgotten altogether that there was such an Article in existence as the one on Baptism; but I hope next time he writes on the subject, he will keep it before his eye, and adhere to his text. As I carefully and painfully turned over page after page of his laborious work, with the 27th Article before me, I could not refrain from exclaiming, mentally, "What possible connexion can these have with each other! Dr. Pusey has never subscribed his hand to this! if so, certainly he has not scanned its grammatical features through the same intellectual lens as myself!" For, if my reasoning powers are competent to form an opinion of the text itself, and the commentary thus supplied by Dr. Pusey and his witnessing Fathers, I should pronounce them to be as far removed from each other

as it is possible. And as Dr. P., indeed, seems to be very desirous to represent the views of those who interpret the Article in its usual and literal acceptation as Rationalists, I hope, if the Society should issue another edition of his Tracts on Holy Baptism, he will draw out a clear definition of what an Irrationalist is; for truly it may be said, if I am classified among the Rationalistic students of Theology, he aspires to, and must be permitted to occupy, a seat among the Irrationalistic Doctors in Divinity.

The religion of our crucified Redeemer is not contrary to enlightened reason, though far beyond its highest powers fully to comprehend, in its height, its breadth, its depth, or unsearchable riches; and the Thirty-nine Articles of the church of England were framed by a body of reasonable men, who designed them for the use and benefit of a branch of the visible church, whose members were supposed to enjoy a free and full exercise of their mental and perceptive faculties.

The views of Dr. Pusey are equally *irrational* on a subject rationally set forth in the sixteenth Article; I mean, *Sin after Baptism.* I will lay now before my readers a few extracts:—

"The Fathers urge the difficulty of the cure of sin after baptism, at the same time that they urge men to seek it: they set side by side the possibility and the pains of repentance: they urge against the Novatian heretic, that there is still 'mercy with God, that he may be feared:' they urge this truth against their own fears, and the insinuations of the evil one, who would suggest hard and despending thoughts of God, in order to keep in his chain those more energetic spirits, who feel the greatness of their fall, and would undergo any pains whereby they might be restored; but the ancient church consulted at the same time for that more relaxed and listless sort, (of whom the greater part of mankind consist,) who would make the incurring of eternal damnation the breaking of covenant with God, the forfeiture of his Spirit, the profanation of his temple (ourselves) a light thing, and easy to be repaired. Therefore, while they set forth the greatness of God's mercy, they concealed not the greatness of man's sin, in again defiling what God had anew hallowed: they concealed not *that such a fall was worse than Adam's*, since it was a fall from a higher state, and in despite of greater aids: that though God's mercy was ever open, yet it required more enduring pains, more abiding self-discipline, more continued sorrow, *again to become capable of that mercy.*"—Tract on Baptism, p. 57.

"It behoves us much to ascertain, by patient, teachable study of that word with prayer, whether it be right to make the way of repentance so easy to those who, after baptism, have turned away from God: whether we have any right at once to appropriate to them the gracious words with which our Saviour invited those who had never known him, and so had never forsaken him, and with which, through his church, he still invites his true disciples to the participation of his own most blessed body and blood—'*Come unto me*, ye that labour and are heavy laden;' whether, *having no fresh 'baptism for the remission of sins' 'to offer, no means of renewing them to repentance,'* we have any right to apply to them the words which the apostles used in inviting men for the first time into the ark of Christ; whether we are not thereby making broad the narrow way of life, and preaching 'peace, peace, where (*in this way, at least*) there is no peace.'"
—Ibid., p. 207.

"The fountain has been indeed opened to wash away sin and uncleanness, but we dare not promise men a second time the same easy access to it which they once had: that way is open but once: it were to abuse the power of the keys en-

trusted to us, again to pretend to admit them thus; *now there remains only the 'baptism of tears,'* a baptism obtained, as the same Fathers said, with much fasting, and with many prayers."—Tract on Baptism, p. 59.

"There are, then, these limitations in scripture, or derived from it by the Fathers, to this second birth *after* baptism. That it is one of suffering, whereas the former birth, by baptism, was one of joy and ease; that it is less complete than the former, and is a slower and more toilsome process, (the slowness is spoken of by St. Paul, 'my little children, of whom I travail in birth again, *until Christ be formed in you;*) that it is a *second* regeneration, ('of whom I travail *again,*')—not differing from the preceding, as if the regeneration of Christ's ordinance were a change of state, the regeneration of repentance a change of nature; that, outward in the flesh; this, inward in the spirit: God forbid that we should so speak of Christ's ordinances!—but that it is a sort of restoration of that life, given to those to whom it is given, by virtue of that ordinance; a restoration *of a certain portion of their baptismal health.* It is not '*the* new birth' simply, *that* is baptism; but it *is a revival, in a measure, of that life;* to be received gratefully, as a renewal of a portion of that former gift; to be exulted in, because it *is* life; but to be received and guarded with trembling, because it is the renewal of what had been forfeited; not to be boasted of, because it is but the fragment of an inheritance 'wasted in riotous living.' *Lastly, it is bestowed through the ministry of the church.* 'Little children, of whom *I* travail again.' "—Ibid., p. 72.

I shall make no comment upon the above, but leave them to be contrasted with the Article on the same subject, which certainly uses all conceivable tenderness towards those of her communion who have fallen into sin after baptism; not denying the place of repentance to them, or regarding them with any other feelings except the same tender affection which we all must entertain to any member of our own family or household that has fallen into disgrace. Surely the mystic yearnings of a tender mother's heart cannot be altogether suppressed by the most unkind and rebellious conduct of any of her children, in giving birth to whom she has endured great pains and perils. For as long as the sympathetic strings of a kindred instrument remain unsnapped asunder, they must vibrate according to the laws of their respective harmonies. A parent may impose a penalty upon the offending member of the family, for the sake of the rest of the establishment, but not with the slightest expectation of making that tie perfect which had never been dissolved; no power on earth can dissolve the tie of relationship that nature lays claim to. And if nature—fallen, unregenerate nature—teach a lesson like this, what ought grace to do? Surely, if we set up a standard of pains and penalties for the restoring of our weaker brethren to our visible flock, the very heathen will rise up and condemn us in the day of judgment. Did Dr. Pusey ever read the parable of the Prodigal Son? if not, I think he would do well to weigh its meaning, and place it side by side with the Article of his church; and if he does, I am sure that, when he admits that our heavenly Father is typified under the emblem therein displayed, he will also admit that our own Article on the same subject, tolerant as it is, has just the same reference to that parable as the least of the works of a superintending Providence has when com-

pared with the most perfect display of man's mechanical powers; there is a fulness and a frankness of forgiveness embodied in that beautiful illustration of the heavenly-minded Peacemaker that is unfathomable; any enlargement upon the behaviour and the language of the father in the parable, only weakens its force, and mars the perfection of its imagery:—

"But when he was yet a great way off his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him. And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son. But the father said to his servants, Bring forth the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand and shoes on his feet: And bring hither the fatted calf, and kill it; and let us eat and be merry: For this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found."—Luke, xv. 20—24.

I am not surprised, even at this stage of our spiritual eclipse, when the doctrines, the opinions, and persons of men, in all their earthy fulness, are permitted to pass between the bright and lovely rays of the Sun of Righteousness and the paler surface of the silvery Moon, an emblem of the visible church of the first-born, that an universal and simultaneous burst of astonishment, horror, and perplexity, should have pervaded this University, when the Regius Professor of Hebrew preached before them on this same subject; and if those of his congregation who had the power of bringing him before a tribunal to decide on the subject of heresy have neglected their opportunity, they, at least, have no reasonable grounds for complaining of the learned Professor's erroneous views. Much as I am opposed to his views as a theologian, I give him the credit I feel he deserves, and I am bound to pay him, as a man, both straightforward in his character, and a sincere advocate of his peculiar notions: much do I regret that I am under the necessity of classing him at all amongst such a dishonest confederacy as that he has fallen into in that pamphleteering academy, of which he is the only student whose name is fairly before the public.

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES—THIRD VOL.

In selecting some fragments from the third volume of this singular miscellany, I felt quite relieved in my mind by finding that it was made up, for the most part, of extracts from various writers who seem to favour the views of the party that issue them. I rejoice in this discovery, on my own account, as well as that of others, as it supersedes the necessity of perusing them. Such selections, it is obvious, are made by persons upon whose judgment it is impossible to place any reliance; the specimens of their own composition's are so mystical and opposed to the word of God, and to plain common-sense, that it is not probable they would either approve of, or select, what would be profitable to an enlightened and reasonable Christian.

Besides, in their translations of the Latin and Greek fathers, how are we to judge of their being sufficiently versed in the learned languages to undertake such a task. Dr. Pusey, indeed, is, according to the decision of our classical examiners, placed high upon the list of honours; but with respect to his coadjutor, if, indeed, he be the editor of these tracts, we have no such evidence to depend upon, as he does not appear very high upon the list of those that distinguished themselves in classical attainments.

I think the public have a right to know something about them of a more definite nature than that they are members of the University of Oxford. I will, however, give a few extracts from those papers that appear to be the original compositions of some of the contributors.

The advertisement to their third volume is rather remarkable, exemplifying the truth of their title, when they called their publications "Tracts for the Times," I mean, that they change with the times. These Tracts were supported at first by the voluntary contributions of the admirers of the *Oriel* school of theology. They did not, as far as I can learn, circulate freely till they changed their tactics. Either the public did not much admire their original writings, or else the remarks made by the periodicals of the day, and other anonymous writers, brought them into notice; and they were then sold so rapidly that the treasurer of the society was enabled to refund all the money advanced for its publication, by such as assisted them in their pecuniary difficulties.

"Advertisement.—The present volume will be found to persevere in the change of plan adopted in the latter part of the second, the substitution of tracts of considerable extent of subject for the short and incomplete papers with which the publication commenced. The reason of this change is to be found in the altered circumstances under which they now make their appearance. When the series began, the prospects of catholic truth were especially gloomy, from the circumstance that irreligious principles and false doctrines, which had hitherto been avowed only in the closet or on paper, had just been admitted into public measures on a large scale, with the probability of that admission becoming a precedent for the future."

The next extract is not very much in accordance with the temper and spirit of persons who profess to be subject to the powers that be, and pray for those that are in authority, and speak no evil of dignities.

"Against Romanism.—We cannot claim to direct the faith of others, we cannot check the progress of what we account error, we cannot be secure (humanly speaking) against the weakness of our own hearts some future day, unless we have learned to analyze and to state formally our own reasons for believing what we do believe, and thus have fixed our creed in our memories and our judgments. This is the especial duty of Christian ministers, who, as St. Paul, in the Acts of the Apostles, must be ready to dispute, whether with Jews or Greeks. That we are at present very ill practised in this branch of our duty (a point it is scarcely necessary to prove) is owing in a very great measure to the protection and favour which have long been extended to the English clergy by the state. Statesmen

have felt that it was their interest to maintain a church, which, absorbing into itself a great portion of the religious feeling of the country, sobers and chastens what it has so attracted, and suppresses by its weight the intractable elements which it cannot persuade; and while preventing the political mischief resulting, whether from fanaticism or pride, is altogether free from those formidable qualities which distinguish the ecclesiastical genius of Rome. Thus the clergy have been in that peaceful condition in which the civil magistrate supersedes the necessity of struggling for life and ascendancy; and amid their privileges it is not wonderful that they should have grown secure, and have neglected to inform themselves on subjects on which they were not called to dispute."—(No. 71, p. 1.)

I do not see how the state can in any way prevent the minister of the Lord Jesus Christ from becoming acquainted with his duty. And if statesmen are not influenced by Christian principles in their public measures, I think the blame rests rather with ourselves, because we neglect the opportunities of teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus.

I shall add a few more extracts, but refrain from commenting upon them, but leave them to the reader's own private meditations.

The claim the pope has to the deference of the members of the Anglican Church:—

"Either the Bishop of Rome has really a claim upon our deference, or he has not; so it will be urged; and our safe argument at the present day will lie in waiving the question altogether, and saying that, even if he has, according to the primitive rule, ever so much authority, (and that he has some, e. g., a precedence over other bishops, need not be denied,) that it is in matter of fact altogether suspended, and under abeyance, while he upholds a corrupt system against which it is our duty to protest."—(No. 71, p. 8.)

N.B. The above follows that affectionate appeal of Dr. Pusey to the author of the *Pope's Letter*.

The next extract shews that they are not perfectly satisfied with their own creed and articles.

"On the other hand, the omissions, such as they are, or rather obscurities of Anglican doctrine, may be supplied for the most part by each of us for himself, and thus do not interfere with the perfect development of the Christian temper in the hearts of individuals, which is the charge fairly adducible against Romanism. Such, for instance, is the phraseology used in speaking of the holy eucharist, which though on the whole protected safe through a dangerous time by the cautious Ridley, yet in one or two places was clouded by the interpolations of Bucer, through an anxiety to unite all the reformed churches under episcopal government against Rome. And such is the omission of any direct safeguard in the articles, against disbelief of the doctrine of the apostolical succession." (p. 32.)

CHAPTER VI.

"The voice said, Cry. And he said, What shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field: The grass withereth, the flower fadeth; because the spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth; but the word of our God shall stand for ever. O Zion, that bringest good tidings, get thee up into the high mountain; O Jerusalem, that bringest good tidings, lift up thy voice with strength: lift it up, be not afraid; say unto the cities of Judah, Behold your God! Behold, the Lord God will come with strong hand, and his arm shall rule for him: Behold, his reward is with him, and his work before him. He shall feed his flock like a shepherd: he shall gather the lambs with his arm, and carry them in his bosom, and shall gently lead those that are with young."—Isaiah, xl. 6—11.

The next person I am permitted to confront, whose name is before the public, is the Rev. J. H. Newman, B.D., Fellow of Oriel College, and vicar of St. Mary the Virgin, in Oxford. In naming this party, I am doing great violence to my own private and personal feelings; because he is not, like his fellow-labourer, known merely by name, but has for some years been personally acquainted with me; and the time once was, when he was not unwilling to accept my proffered services in tending his little flock at Littlemore, (during the winter and spring of 1831,) when they were without any pastor able to afford them those attentions they stood in need of. With his family, also, resident in the same village with my own relatives, I had been on friendly and even intimate terms, and for whom I entertain the greatest respect. All personal considerations, however, must be laid aside when the public good demands a sacrifice. I cannot presume to associate his name with that assortment of tracts upon no better authority than that of a public rumour, or the internal evidence afforded to my own mind by a perusal of many of those writings. If he is unwilling to give his name and proper titles to the public along with such tracts as he may have edited or composed, I have no other alternative left than a careful perusal of his published sermons. It is the only method by which I can lay before the public, who are ignorant of their pernicious tendency, how much error and perversion of scriptural truth is mixed up in his authenticated writings. The metaphysical and subtle reasoning displayed throughout these volumes well nigh astounds me, producing a conviction upon my mind that the antagonist I have to deal with is of a description not often to be met with. The delineation he affords his readers of men, manners, and passing events, are, in many respects, most exquisitely wrought out, and cannot fail of fascinating the youthful imagina-

tion, and afford, likewise, no ordinary gratification to the students of that intellectual school of theology so fashionable in the present age. If the poison they contain had not been most deadly and delusive, it would have been a most hazardous and presumptuous undertaking to attempt any censure of them at all.

I shall select only a few extracts, and begin with the first that suits my purpose: but I have not to travel far through the first volume without finding one; and though to some it may seem ill-chosen, as involving a metaphysical discussion, I will not shrink from it: error has ever crept into the pure religion of Christ by means of this weasel of the corrupt intellect.

"1. If a certain character of mind, a certain state of the heart and affections, be necessary for entering heaven, our *actions* will avail for our salvation, chiefly as they tend to produce or evidence this frame of mind. Good works (as they are called) are required, not as if they had anything of merit in them, not as if they could of themselves turn away God's anger for our sins, or purchase heaven for us, but because they are the means, under God's grace, of strengthening and showing forth that holy principle which God implants in the heart, and without which (as the text tells us) we cannot see Him. The more numerous are our acts of charity, self-denial, and forbearance, of course the more will our minds be schooled into a charitable, self-denying, and forbearing temper. The more frequent are our prayers, the more humble, patient, and religious are our daily deeds, this communion with God, these holy works, will be the means of making our hearts holy, and of preparing us for the future presence of God. Outward acts, done on principle, create inward habits. I repeat, the separate acts of obedience to the will of God, good works, as they are called, are of service to us, as gradually severing us from this world of sense, and impressing our hearts with a heavenly character.

"It is plain, then, what works are *not* of service to our salvation;—all those which either have no effect upon the heart to change it ——."—(Vol. i., p. 10.)

I insert the whole of the page, lest any insinuation be made that the extracts are garbled, and that the reader may coincide with me in the difficulty there is of comprehending exactly what the writer's meaning is, for it seems to me as if he was making an attempt to engraft Christianity upon the stock of heathenism. It forcibly reminded me of that which I had carefully studied, many years ago, whilst in college—I mean the Ethics or Morality of Aristotle. Now I admit, without hesitation, my intellectual powers are sufficiently developed to comprehend the reasoning and perfect system of the heathen philosopher; but I confess my mind shrinks with astonishment when making an effort to grasp the ethics of this selected page: it is neither the ethics of Aristotle nor Jesus Christ, but a kind of admixture of both:—

"*Our actions will avail for our salvation, chiefly as they tend to produce or evidence this frame of mind, &c.*

"*These holy works will be the means of making our hearts holy, and of preparing us for the presence of God. Outward acts, done on principle, create inward habits.*

"*Good works are of service to us * * * as impressing our hearts with a heavenly character.*"

To say the least of these extracts, they are very metaphysical and ambiguous; and when the subject of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith only is so plainly laid down in the Word of God and the Article of our church on that head, any metaphysical reasoning is very dangerous. But I think the most simple mind, if it can form an opinion of the intention of words to convey the ideas of those who use them, must infer that the writer supposes that good works, or our actions avail, (in some way or other,) for our salvation. Now, our Article on this head is very explicit; (I dare not go to Scripture alone for proofs, as I may expect to have the Fathers brought against me as more capable of deciding on the meaning of Scripture than myself, an obscure individual; therefore I appeal to the authorized documents of our apostolical church;) our 11th Article compares the faith of each individual to a tree, and the works to the fruit, and I cannot discover by what effort of the intellectual faculties the literal meaning of the Article can be so distorted as to convey an idea that the fruit makes the tree good, or in any way benefits the tree, except by shewing that it is good, and making manifest to what species it belongs. It is an insidious attack upon this Article. In the moral philosophy of the gentiles we may easily conceive the proposition of actions at length producing principles, because they did not admit the main-spring of all goodness—viz., faith working by love. Humility, which is the matron virtue, the essence of all that is lovely in the code of scriptural morality, had no existence among them even by name; consequently, the higher their actions were in the estimation of man, the greater pride did they engender in the human heart, being nought but abomination in the sight of God; and we doubt not that all such actions have the nature of sin.

There is seen in the moral philosophy of the heathen Aristotle a beautiful consistency, without any of the half-and-half work of his dumb idol gods. He ascribes the whole to man's efforts and innate powers, and gives no glory to his gods many and lords many. This theory of the effect of man's unassisted actions upon his moral nature is too unequivocal to admit of any metaphysical reasoning on the subject. It is as follows:—

"Virtue being twofold, intellectual and moral, the former is produced and increased chiefly by instruction, and therefore requires experience and time; the latter is acquired by repeated acts or custom, from which, by a small change, its name is derived, (i. e., the making use of a long instead of a short vowel.) None of the moral virtues, therefore, are implanted by nature; for properties given by nature cannot be taken away or altered by custom; thus the gravity of a stone, which naturally carries it downward, cannot be changed into levity, which would carry it upwards, were we to throw it in that direction ten thousand times; and fire, which naturally seeks the extremities, cannot be brought by custom to have a tendency towards the centre; nor, in a word, can any law of nature be altered by custom. The moral virtues, therefore, are neither natural nor preternatural; we are born with capacities for acquiring them, but they can only be acquired by

our own exertions, &c. The habit of moral virtue, like all other practical arts, can be acquired or preserved by practice only. By correctness, or the contrary, in our transactions with mankind, we become just or unjust; according to our behaviour in circumstances of danger, our characters are formed to courage or cowardice; and in proportion as we indulge or restrain the excitements to anger and pleasure, we become adorned with the habits of meekness and temperance, or deformed by those of passionateness and profligacy. In one word, such as our actions are, such will our habits become. Actions, therefore, ought to be most diligently attended to; and it is not a matter of small moment how we are trained from our youth—much depends on this, or rather all."—*Aristotle's Ethics*, b. ii., chap. 1. *Gillie's Translation.*

NEWMAN'S SERMONS—VOL. II.

Another extract shews a want of clearness on a very important point of doctrine—one, too, that has ever afforded to the apostate church of Rome an immense influence over the feelings and affections of her deluded members—I mean an attempt to raise up the Virgin Mother of the blessed Jesus above the rest of that sex to which she belonged, because she was the mother of the Son of Man. Whether the writer would advocate any extraordinary respect to be paid to her I am not prepared to say; but it is very clear, that if any difference should be made between Mary of Nazareth and any other faithful daughter of the seed of Abraham, that the extent, the value, the nature of that atonement which is made by the *death* of Christ, and his mediation, is essentially affected. We will suppose her to be the very best of woman-kind, she is even then but an unprofitable servant; and being descended from Adam, in his fallen state, she could not, by any power of her own, raise herself above the virgins that be her fellows.

"Our Saviour was born without sin. His Mother, the Blessed Virgin Mary, need have made no offering, as requiring no purification. On the contrary, it was that very birth of the Son of God which sanctified the whole race of woman, and turned her curse into a blessing. Nevertheless, as Christ himself was minded to 'fulfil all righteousness,' to obey all the ordinances of the covenant under which He was born, so in like manner his Mother Mary submitted to the law, in order to do it reverence."—(Sermon x., p. 120.*)

In reply to the above, I boldly assert that the Virgin Mother *did need to make an offering*, as *requiring the legal purification.* The law under which she was born herself admitted of no alteration, not even in her son's case, much less in her own, the words of which law are to this effect:—

"And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, If a woman have conceived seed, and born a man child, then she shall be unclean seven days; according to the days of the separation for her infirmity shall she be unclean. And in the eighth day the flesh of his foreskin shall be circumcised. And she shall then continue in the blood of her purifying three and thirty days: she shall touch no hallowed thing, nor come into the sanctuary,

* She is designated, elsewhere in this volume, (page 36,) "The Mother of God." "He came into this world, not in the clouds of Heaven, but born into it—born of a woman. He, the Son of Mary, and she (if it may be said) the Mother of God."

until the days of her purifying be fulfilled. But if she bear a maid child, then she shall be unclean two weeks, as in her separation; and she shall continue in the blood of her purifying threescore and six days. And when the days of her purifying are fulfilled, for a son, or for a daughter, she shall bring a lamb of the first year for a burnt offering, and a young pigeon or a turtledove for a sin offering, unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, unto the priest; who shall offer it before the Lord, and make an atonement for her, and she shall be cleansed from the issue of her blood. This *is* the law for her that hath born a male or a female. And if she be not able to bring a lamb, then she shall bring two turtles, or two young pigeons; the one for the burnt offering, and the other for a sin offering: and the priest shall make an atonement for her, and she shall be clean."—(Leviticus, chap. 12.)

If there was no other necessity for the purification than God's appointment, it was quite sufficient for any reasonable being. The keeping of the words of the law of her God was "*her gospel*," —having its fulness in the finished work of Christ, who is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth. The keeping of the law did not make her holy, it was the Spirit of her God blessing her soul through the appointed ordinance. As long as Jehovah permitted his ancient Israel to draw nigh in faith to him in the ceremonies of the earthly worship, so long (even after the ascension of Jesus Christ) did he meet them there to bless them. Those types, sacrifices, and ceremonies, never were, and never could have been, the substance. They were a picture, painted by a divine Artist—representing the heavenly Original—and are still of incalculable benefit to all that have sufficient spiritual taste to admire the works and ordinances of God. For they are so many faithful delineations of the blessedness of that perfect salvation and sanctification, which is by Christ Jesus unto all, and upon all them that believe. I am aware that much may be said about the subject of this extract, as being metaphysical, and beyond our reasoning powers. This is the reason why I have selected this passage, when there are so many more that might be brought forward. We have no right whatever to *reason* upon anything that God has not, in plain terms, revealed. We, as far as our finite reasoning can carry us, are unable to see how the act of parturition involves, necessarily, any sin whatever; it is an *act of nature*, and as such, no greater sin can be inferred than *eating, drinking, sleeping, walking*, &c. But as soon as God has declared that he will not receive among his worshipping people *any* that have been so circumstanced, till they have complied with his express regulations, *reason* is satisfied, and *faith* obeys.

There is a subtle fallacy in the argument employed. *It was that very birth of the Son of God which sanctified the whole race of woman, and turned her curse into a blessing.* I as stoutly deny this proposition also; it was not *the birth*, it was the *death* of the Lamb of God, that brought life and immortality to light, through the gospel,—"He was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification."—(Rom. iv. 25.)

I lay a stress upon this extract, because it is the vanishing point of that picture which is painted by the *Man of Sin ;* it is the strongest hold of the church of the apostacy; and their metaphysics are more systematic and delusive than all the united intellect which this dangerous school can lay claim to. All their fearful heresies originate in this subtle question, it is the link between the earthly and the spiritual nature, and they use it to the vilest of purposes. I know how Jezebel has raised herself up,— I know on what she is sitting. Her stirrup is none other than this figment of the distorted intellect, and she, by this means, is exalted upon the back of the beast—which is nothing else but the unsanctified *animal nature* of fallen man.

To advocate this doctrine is to teach man to disobey God; and it appears to me to be a metaphysical infringement against these several articles of our church :—the eleventh, the fourteenth, and the fifteenth.

NEWMAN'S SERMONS, VOL. III.

I will now draw the attention of my readers to the last volume, and lay before them extracts from the 20th sermon; to comment upon them, however, is most painful, and I shall not attempt it,— it would be an unnecessary tax upon the intellect of reasonable beings, who have the word of God for their guide, and clear and plain articles drawn up for its safeguard. The *faith* of the writer (such as it is) must be extraordinary, and the all-absorbing feature of his mind; but *faith* without light is most dangerous, and woe be to all those who follow such guides!

MATT. xviii. 5—" *Whoso shall receive one such little child in my name, receiveth me.*"

" Surely, if we only knew the great doctrines of the gospel,—viz., that man is a sinner by nature, and, though redeemed by Christ, cannot turn to Christ of his own strength, I say, the cruelty of giving birth to poor infants, who should inherit our nature and receive from us the birth-right of corruption, would be so great, that, bowing the head to God's appointment, and believing it to be good and true, we could but conclude with the apostle on one occasion, that ' it were good not to marry.' " (p. 313.)

" There can be no doubt that, if we know no more of the gospel than I have hitherto mentioned, if we content ourselves with that half gospel which is sometimes taken for the whole, none would be so selfish and unfeeling as we, who could be content, for the sake of worldly comforts, a cheerful home, and the like, to surround ourselves with those about whom, dearly as we loved them, and fervently as we might pray for them, we only knew thus much, that there was a chance,—a certain chance that, perhaps, they might be in the number of the few whom Christ rescues from the curse of original sin."

" Let us now see how his gracious words, contained in the text, remove the difficulty.

" In truth, our merciful Saviour has done much more for us than reveal the wonderful doctrines of the gospel; he has enabled us to apply them. He has given us directions as well as doctrines, and while giving them has imparted to us especial encouragement and comfort. What an inactive, useless world this would be, if the sun's light did not diffuse itself through the air and fall on all objects around

us, enabling us to see earth and sky as well as the sun itself! Cannot we conceive nature so constituted, that the sun appeared as a bright spot in the heavens, while the heavens themselves were black as in the starlight, and the earth dark as night? Such would have been our religious state, had not our Lord applied, and diversified, and poured to and fro, in heat and light, those heavenly glories which are concentrated in him. He would shine upon us from above in all his high attributes and offices, as the Prophet, Priest, and King of his elect; but how should we bring home his grace to ourselves? How should we gain, and know we gain, an answer to our prayers?—how secure the comfortable assurance that he loves us personally, and will change our hearts, which we feel to be so earthly, and wash away our sins, which we confess to be so manifold, unless he had given us sacraments,—means and pledges of grace,—keys which open the treasure-house of mercy, and enable us, not only to anticipate, but to receive, and know that we receive, all we can receive as accountable beings, (not, indeed, the certainty of heaven, for we are still in the flesh,) but the certainty of God's present favour, the certainty that he is reconciled to us, will work in us and with us all righteousness, will so supply our need, that henceforth we shall lack nothing for the completion and overflowing in sanctity of our defective and sinful nature, but have all, and more than all, that Adam ever had in his first purity, all that the highest archangel or seraph ever had when on his trial, whether he would stand or fall.

"For instance, in the particular case I have been considering, our gracious Lord has done much more than tell us some souls are elected to the mercies of redemption and others not. He has not left Christians thus uncertain about their children. He has expressly assured us that children are in the number of his chosen; and, if you ask whether all children, I reply, all children you can bring to baptism, all children who are within reach of it. So literally has he fulfilled his promise—'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy, and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price!' and again, 'All that the Father giveth me shall come to me, and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out.' He has disclosed his secret election in a visible sacrament, and thus enables Christians to bear to be, what otherwise they would necessarily shrink from being, parents."—(pp. 315—318.)

"Now that Christ receives us in our infancy, no one has any ground for complaining of his fallen nature. He receives by birth a curse, but by baptism a blessing, and the blessing is the greater; and to murmur now against his condition is all one with murmuring against his being created at all, his being created as a responsible being, which is a murmuring, not against man, but against God; for though it was man who has made our nature inclined to evil, yet, that we are beings on a trial, with moral natures, a power to do right or wrong, and a capacity of happiness or misery, is not man's work, but the Creator's. Thus parents, being allowed to bestow a second birth upon their offspring, henceforth do but share and are sheltered in his responsibility, (if I may dare so speak,) who is ever 'justified in his sayings, and overcomes when he is judged.'" (p. 320.)

"It may be objected that, though baptism is vouchsafed to the children of Christian parents, yet we are expressly assured that the few, not the many, shall be saved; so that the gift, however great, does not remove the difficulty in our way, or make it less of a risk to bring into existence those who are more likely to be among the wretched many than the blessed few. But, surely, this is a misconception of our Saviour's words. Where does he say that few only of the children of his earnest followers shall be saved? He says, indeed, that there will be but few out of the whole multitude of the regenerate; and the great multitude of them, as we know too well, are disobedient to their calling."—(pp. 321, 322.)

"Is there no difference between asking and receiving? for prayer is an asking, and baptism is a receiving. Is there no difference between a chance and a certainty? How many infants die in their childhood! is it no difference to know

that a child has gone to heaven, or that he has died as he was born? But supposing a child lives, is not regeneration a real gain? does not it change our nature, exalt us in the scale of being, give us new powers, open upon us untold blessings, and moreover brighten in an extreme degree the prospect of our salvation, if religious training follows? I will say more. Many men die without any signs of confirmed holiness, or formed character one way or the other." (p. 324.)

If such be the avowed sentiments of what the world would call respectable ministers and members of the church of England, surely we cannot be surprised at the condition to which popery has brought her blinded followers; and we may well tremble for the danger that hundreds in our own communion are now exposed to by this widely-spreading heresy. If baptism be salvation to the infant soul, and parents are capable of *bestowing a second birth upon their offspring*, the abominable practices of that bloody system (which have been lately brought before the public, in America, as well as in this country) may be accounted for on a high principle; like the offering, in olden time, of their sons and daughters to Moloch. The awful disclosures of illicit intercourse, —the children baptized, and then butchered by their lustful parents, (revolting as it is to nature,) may be true. This is, without doubt, the day in which God, by his providence, is bringing to light the hidden things of darkness; and soon shall all those secret abominations which are countenanced by the various public bodies throughout the kingdom in the same way be dragged into the clear light of day, that they may be openly reproved, and the Lord gather out his own remnant from the midst of them.

In taking leave of this commentary of the party whose views I regard as being fearfully opposed to the spirit of the holy and heavenly gospel of Jesus Christ, and almost identical with the spirit of the apostate Romish delusion, I cannot refrain from expressing my surprise that so many of our learned and piously disposed members of the University, of all grades and intellectual attainments, should flock to his church.

That many of them agree with him in his sentiments and theories, or are lifted up after him in his flights of imagination, if they understand him, I cannot for a moment imagine. Neither do I conceive they are aware of the danger to which they are exposed by thus suffering themselves to be led into temptation. However strong the intellect may be, the flesh is weak. It is peculiar to the present times to see the majority of every denomination of professors blindly led by the opinions of a few more talented and devoted than themselves, not caring to bring every opinion, and theory, and practice, to the word of the testimony for a candid and fair examination. It seems almost as if, for our manifold wilful sins, God had sent through the land a strong delusion, that they should believe a lie.

SELF-DENIAL.

Much has been said respecting the self-denial of these individuals, and sundry reports about their simplicity of diet, fasting, &c. But however the conviction of my senses may incline me to give credit to these strange rumours, in a work of this nature, I can use, as suitable materials for my pen, only such as are evidently within my reach. Self-denial the worldly man hates most cordially, because his conscience bears witness to the necessity and the utility of it, when not carried to an extreme, and persons of temperate and regular habits are the greatest sores that the eyes of intemperate and inconsistent men can ever fasten upon. But it is not my intention to give any, even the slightest encouragement to those whose affections are set upon earthly things, and are led captive by their lust and passions. I cannot, however, but admit, that there is much reason to fear lest this sect has afforded much cause for bringing the self-denying religion of Jesus Christ into disrepute by their unscriptural deductions.

There is a sermon of Mr. Newman's, headed *Self-denial the Test of Religious Earnestness*, the tendency of which is most abhorrent to the pure, holy, and unostentatious religion of the blessed Jesus. In my opinion it is a pure specimen of what Rome would have all her members subscribe to. Some of the passages are as follows :—

"SELF-DENIAL.—This was the great evidence which the first disciples gave, and which we can give still."

Again—

"A rigorous self-denial is a chief duty, nay, it may be considered the test whether we are Christ's disciples, &c. The early Christians went through self-denials in their very profession of the gospel; *what are our self-denials*, now that the profession of the gospel is not a self-denial?"—(page 75, vol. i.)

"The self-denial, which is the test of our faith, must be daily."—(p. 76.)

"The word daily implies that the self-denial which is pleasing to Christ consists in little things."—(p. 77.)

I shall not touch upon the fallacious sophistry of these arguments, because I am fully aware, with respect to those who look upon works as an evidence *to themselves* of the life of Christ in the soul, and not as an evidence *to the visible Church and the world*, my remarks would be completely thrown away, and the extracts I have selected would be made use of by them to prove just the opposite view. All those persons whose eye God has not opened, by his holy Spirit, to see spiritual things, cannot be expected to open their eyes at man's bidding. I shall pass on to a passage, at which I shuddered as I read it. Whether the writer intended it as a comment, or as a new translation, I am at a loss to say, but I believe his classical attainments to be sufficiently

high for the latter suspicion to be incorrect; but I say it is a libel upon the language of the apostle.

It was St. Paul's method, who "kept under," or bruised, "his body, and brought it into subjection." The whole passage is as follows:—

"Rise up, then, in the morning, with the purpose that (please God) the day shall not pass without its self-denial, with a self-denial in innocent pleasures and tastes, if none occurs to mortify sin. Let your very rising from your bed be a self-denial; let your meals be self-denials. Determine to yield to others in things indifferent, to go out of your way in small matters to inconvenience yourself, (so that no direct duty suffers by it,) rather than you should not meet with your daily discipline. This was the psalmist's method, who was, as it were, 'punished all day long, and chastened every morning.'* It was St. Paul's method, who 'kept under,' or bruised, 'his body, and brought it into subjection.'† This is one great end of fasting."—(p. 80.)

I look upon this as a most insidious and metaphysical manœuvre to establish a fond thing congenial with our corrupt nature, having no warranty in scripture. Mr. Newman's study of Grecian literature must have been sufficient to have informed him that, even in its first and literal signification, it did not apply to self-inflicted blows on the part of the prize fighter. Neither could it apply, as far as I am versed in the manners and customs of the Jews, to Saul of Tarsus at all, as he never, with his Thyatira-like spirit, would have infringed any command of his Lord and God, however inclined to become all things to all men. "Ye shall not print any marks upon you: I am the Lord."—(Lev. xix. 28.)

It is most abhorrent to enlightened human nature to disfigure, or abuse in any such way as the English word "bruise" seems to convey as its necessary meaning, that form which God made in his own likeness, and which he honoured by taking upon himself. It is an amalgamation of heathenism and Christianity—consequently, one of the features of the apostate church. It is degrading to the mind as well as injurious to the body. That we may serve God acceptably, our bodies must be given up to him a living, not a livid, sacrifice. There is enough already to hinder us from running patiently the race set before us, without entangling our feet in easily besetting sins.

Besides, Mr. Newman is not ignorant that there is a sufficient critical difficulty to make it unwise to build such a practice upon a word, yea, even a letter; not that I in my own mind am dissatisfied with the authorized version; I think the word used in our Greek version is the most suitable, but they who have had leisure and experience to investigate and collate the various editions, MSS., &c., have proposed a variation as not to be despised, but worthy of examination, though inferior to the received text; the

* Psalm lxxiii. 14. † 1 Cor. ix. 27.

variation would be simply in the exchange of the vowel *a* into *e*, which, by so doing, the blow aimed at the body of the believer could, by no subtle sophistry, leave a bruise behind it.*

This, I need scarcely add for the information of the reader, is a metaphysical subtlety, quite unworthy the plain dealing of a humble follower of the Lord Jesus Christ. And let those who are seduced by this specious delusion beware lest their insulted and self-tormented bodies be at last avenged, as they may reasonably expect they will be, sooner or later, by a paralysis of the powers of the mind. Who ever heard of a kind and sensible master bruising or laming his servant under an expectation of making him more useful and active in his employ. And what is our animal nature but our servant, what the enlightened moral nature, or, in scripture phraseology, the spiritual, but the master, and the intellect but the rule, or method, whereby the co-operation of the servant is secured and rendered a willing and reasonable service. (λογικη λατρια.) An infringement of these laws may do for the monastery or nunnery, but for the humble follower of Jesus, in a world full of temptations, trials, and difficulties, it will never answer. They must each, if we would see them working together for the common good, have their due and perfect work.

* Υπωπιαζω properly signifies to strike on the face as boxers did, and particularly on the (υπωπιον) part of it under the eyes, at which they especially aimed—in plain language. to give a black eye. The proposed variation is υπεπιαζω.

CHAPTER VI.

LYRA APOSTOLICA.

"I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also."—1 Cor. xxiv. 15.

We are arrived now at the seventh, and, I am thankful to add, the last volume of the printed memorials of this industrious society, which has been ushered into the politico-theological world under the title of "Lyra Apostolica;" in plain English, the Hymn-book of the Apostolicals.* I rejoice most sincerely that my feelings are not in danger of being harrowed up by opening the pages of the periodical from which these rhymes are taken, or its criticising sister of the same family name. I will not even name them; they are a gross libel upon all the noble offspring of Britannia. None of her lions ever attacked a sleeping victim. She was never known to rush into the battle-field without first proclaiming her name before her, and making it known far and wide that Britannia is a noble warrior.

I am now alluding more particularly to that ingeniously written attack upon the apostolicity of our afflicted sister of Moravia, concerning whom our own monarch, his nobles, his prelates, and his lower house of parliament, had decided that she was "*an antient protestant episcopal church, which had been countenanced and relieved by the kings of England, his Majesty's predecessors.*"† What better shall we be in the sight of our Lord and God, or in the estimation of the world at large, for being sufficiently clear-sighted to find out that one link (supposing it were really the case) was wanting in her chain of apostolical succession? Is there not quite room enough for us all to work, without entrenching upon a neighbour's little vineyard. If the great assembly of the British nation, in the reign of our second George, was deceived by their simple and eloquent tale of misery and woe, surely

* I add this volume to the other six, because it bears the imprimatur of the same conclave, with a prefatory introduction apparently from the pen of the editor of the Tracts for the Times.

† See Acts 20th Geo. II. cap. 44, and 22nd Geo. II. cap. 30, passed in 1747 and 1748; also, a "Congratulatory Letter," from Abp. Potter to Count Nicholas Lewis, one of their bishops, on his consecration, which will be found in the Preface to "Crantz's History of the Brethren." Letters Patent for the relief of this church were issued by Charles II., under the recommendation of Abp. Sancroft and Bp. Compton, and by George I., under that of Abp. Wake.

it would have been a more generous and courteous step in the orthodox members of the Anglican church to have presented a loyal and respectful address on the subject, than thus shew their disaffection to the powers that be!

This "Lyra Apostolica" is a bantling of the same nursery. That it merits the name of "*a lyre*," many of its contents sufficiently indicate; and such an admission from the descendant of a nation of bards, and a member of a bardic family, is no small praise. In regard to its rhythmical pretensions, I can certainly pronounce that its claims are just. But of its distinguishing appellation, of "*Apostolical*," I cannot speak in as flattering terms, as a member of an apostolical church in England. If it be apostolical at all, it must be dated at that period of time when the disciples were in such a state of mind as to entreat their Lord to command the fire to come down from heaven to consume one of the villages of Samaria. (See Luke, ix. 54.)

I select only two specimens in confirmation of my assertion; one to shew the reader what their *doctrine* is, the other their *temper* and *spirit*.

THE THREE ABSOLUTIONS.*

"And there shall in no wise enter into it anything that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie; but they which are written in the Lamb's Book of Life."

Each morn and eve, the Golden Keys
  Are lifted in the sacred hand,
To shew the sinner on his knees
  Where heaven's bright doors wide open stand.

On the dread Altar duly laid
  The Golden Keys their witness bear,
That not in vain the Church hath pray'd,
  That He, the Life of Souls is there.

Full of the past, all shuddering thought,
  Man waits his hour with upward eye†—
The Golden Keys in love are brought
  That he may hold by them and die.

But touch them trembling; for that gold
  Proves iron in the unworthy hand,
To close, not ope, the favour'd fold,
  To bind, not loose, the lost soul's band.

γ.

Surely the above is a perversion of the meaning of our liturgy, and something very much like the making a Christ of the keys. It is an abuse of that great blessing of an apostolical church, the privilege of a *declarative* absolution; it is the assumption of a prerogative which belongs only to the Lord Jesus Christ, who will never permit any of his keys, whether of the heart of man, of

* 1. In the Daily Service. 2. In the Communion. 3. In the Visitation of the Sick.

† Vide Death-bed Scenes, "The Barton Family," sec. iii.

heaven, or hell, to escape out of his own hand. I may be mistaken in this my opinion of the writer's meaning, but it does not seem very improbable that such is the view of this fraternity, from the singular efficacy they attach to the clerical office.

Next let us contemplate a chain, of threefold link, on the word

SCHISM.

O rail not at our brethren of the North,
  Albeit Samaria finds her likeness there;
A self-formed Priesthood, and the Church cast forth
  To the chill mountain air.

What, though their fathers sinned, and lost the grace
  Which seals the Holy Apostolic Line?
Christ's love o'erflows the bounds His Prophets trace
  In His revealed design.

Israel had Seers; to them the Word is nigh;
  Shall not that Word run forth, and gladness give
To many a Shunammite, till in His eye
  The full seven thousand live?

δ.

I know not, neither do I seek to know, the name and the proper title of the lyric author of these lines, who dares thus prostitute his powers of song to hold up to public scorn the pride of Scotia's sons, her religious freedom. Could no other epithet be found to embody a sentiment so bitter? Does no other name occur in the page of history, sacred or profane, to arm the tongue of slander?—none but Samaria?

Ignorant, indeed, must he be of the annals both of the children of Israel, and of thine also, O Caledonia, daughter of intellect! who could use such an illustration for his ill-timed rebuke. Who first defiled that spot which Omri bought of Shemer, owner of the hill? Was it not Ahab, his first-born? Ahab, who took to wife Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Zidonians, and went and served Baal, and worshipped him, and reared up an *altar* to Baal, in the house of Baal, which he had built in Samaria? (See 1 Kings, xvi. 23, to the end, &c.)

Scotland! thy covenant, sealed in blood, will ever stand, and serve as a proof, if it were needed, that such an insinuation has no foundation in fact. Apostate Rome will find it no easy task to lift herself up and fasten, like an intellectual harpy, upon thy well-proportioned brow.

Samaria, forsooth! they will not forget that name, if words their accustomed language can convey. Suppose thou art, indeed, Samaria; what means that term? The words of Israel's Lord all have their special meaning; not one is used in vain. Some interpret it as the *fenced enclosure*, others the *thorn* or *bramble bush;* be it which of these they please, Scotland, high-minded Scotland, thou art not yet ashamed of thy "*thistle*," no more than

Cambria is of its "*leek;*" though many hold them up to their nose (like the glorious branch, despised by Israel's high ones in the day of their apostacy.) For as the *lily among its thorns* (or thistles), so is Christ and his gospel sheltered in the midst of thee.

I am at a loss to discover why Scotland has been singled out as an object of invidious attack, unless it may be in consequence of the deathblow inflicted upon the religion of Rome, when her Sixth and our First James (like his namesake at Jerusalem) confirmed the work of reformation that had been long going on, by sending forth throughout the land our present version of the English Bible. He, with the twofold horn of the standard of the beloved Joseph, transformed into one, even the unicorn of Moses, (see Deut. xxxiii. 17,) so pushed that enemy to the brotherly love of Joseph, that to this day he has not been able to recover an ascendancy. He introduced into the shield of Britannia the noblest of her Lions, even the Red one, rampant, whose proper range is through a starry field of untarnished gold; and as long as thou, Britannia, dost quarter in thy shield that mystic emblem, thou art sure to stand against each adverse foe.

But heed them not, O sister of the north!
That name thy Lord did honour when he spake
Of thee—neglected land!
No cutting sarcasm, taunt, or cruel jest,
Escaped his lips, or sinless heart defiled;
So meek, so mild was he, so kind to all—
Himself the sinner's friend.
Despised of men, rejected by his own,
The man of sorrows see at Jacob's well;
Wearied, athirst, he seeks, but seeks in vain,
One drop of water; for that well was deep:
No Rachel nigh, nor Isaac's virgin bride,
His lips to moisten with a cooling draught
From nature's bubbling spring.
His wearied limbs on Jacob's well repose,
But up to Jacob's Lord th' imploring eye
Ascends, in faith, to wait upon his word.
Led by the Father's love to Jesus' feet,
Samaria, see, thy daughter frail draws nigh,
But not to fill her soul from his pure spring
Of life divine;
'Twas water for the parched lips she sought,
Not that which slakes the bitter thirst of sin.
But Christ himself was there, a suppliant guest;
He did not spurn thee, did not turn away
His eye in anger, or in scornful pride
Cast out thy name as evil,—yea, from thee
He begged the cooling draught, and blessed thy soul
With everlasting life.
To thee he gave his name—his proper name—
Israel's Messiah King, their Saviour Lord;

Himself thy mission owned, thy converts blessed
With living water, purified through blood.
Samaria! yes, from thee, though nine
Their footsteps bent another way,
A son of thine returned to know his Lord—
The leper cleansed, first his gift to thee
Did bring, and then to Israel's priest—
To thee, his Lord and God.
Samaria! Oh, forgive the strain prolonged!
Or Scotland!—if their muse must have it so—
Restrain thine ire, a noble pardon grant;
Blinded by zeal, they know not what they do.
But thou, upon the shield of azure blue,
A spotless cross dost rear of heavenly light,
Emblem of Faith, of Hope, of Love divine,
To guilty man in mercy given.
Scotia, brave Scotia! may the time be long
Ere thy Britannia's sons shall flock to thee
In sorrow and affliction, exiles from hence,
To thy chill mountain air!

Oh, brethren of the south, now pause,
'Tis not the time to trifle or to jest;
Another strain becomes us, and must flow,
Ere we shall make our full seven thousand live.

CHAPTER VII.

CEREMONIES, SERVICES, VESTMENTS, ETC.

"While Paul waited for them at Athens, his spirit was stirred in him, when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry. Therefore disputed he in the synagogue with the Jews, and with the devout persons, and in the market daily with them that met with him. Then certain philosophers of the Epicureans, and of the Stoicks, encountered him: and some said, What will this babbler say? other some, He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods: because he preached unto them Jesus, and the resurrection: and they took him, and brought him unto Areopagus, saying, May we know what this new doctrine, whereof thou speakest, is? For thou bringest certain strange things to our ears: we would know therefore what these things mean. (For all the Athenians, and strangers which were there, spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing.")—Acts, xvii. 16—21.

The religion of the Lord Jesus Christ is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. But in order that the members of the Church visible may enjoy as much of this peace and joy, and that it may be outwardly pure and comely, forms, ceremonies, articles, and suitable ministerial vestments, have been attended to.

"Inasmuch, however, as ceremonial observances are not a part of the ordinance of Christ himself, they are of secondary moment, and are appointed, by the church, for the purposes of edification and uniformity of worship. For in the same way as the pure word of God is the boundary-wall himself has thrown up around the souls of his people, so the forms, rites, ceremonies, &c. of each branch of the visible church are the walls that she has thrown up to restrain the wanderings of her visible members, to serve as a boundary to the fanciful imaginations and singular devices of fallible men."

This, our material body, requires a convenient season and form of earthly worship, and such a provision the church of England has made, in all essential points, for the members of her communion. Her public services are framed for the use of the whole assembly, and if any of her ministers (in their respective cures) believe it to be for the good of their flocks that assemblies of a less general character be congregated, the tolerant law of the land permits them to bring together for such purpose as many persons as any single individual can keep in due order and subordination; and if a still larger number should be required, upon proper application, a licence may be obtained, by which the law cooperates with them in their endeavours, and protects them from any unnecessary interruption from the enemies of true religion. And I must confess, as my sincere conviction, that if any minister of the Lord Jesus Christ shall needlessly infringe any such wise

regulation, he is acting contrary to the spirit of his Lord and Master, who never resisted the authority of the law either of the land in which he was a sojourner, or of that visible church of which he was himself a faithful member.

The reader is now invited to direct his attention to a subject of another character from that we have recently been discussing, in my estimation, the least important feature of the present innovations, though it has always proved highly injurious to the interests of the visible church,—I mean the services, the ceremonies, and the vestments of her clergy; and in respect to these, I find that this party have been introducing and sanctioning undue alterations.

It has been the wisdom of the church of England, ever since the first compiling of her public liturgy, to keep the mean between the two extremes, of too much stiffness in refusing, and of too much easiness in admitting, any variation from it. For as, on the one side, common experience shews that where a change has been made of things advisedly established (no evident necessity so requiring) sundry inconveniencies have thereupon ensued, and those many times more and greater than the evils that were intended to be remedied by such change; so, on the other side, the particular forms of divine worship, and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things in their own nature indifferent, and alterable, and so acknowledged, it is but reasonable, that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigences of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein as to those that are in place of authority should from time to time seem either necessary or expedient. Accordingly we find, that in the reigns of several princes of blessed memory since the Reformation, the church, upon just and weighty considerations, has yielded to make such alterations in some particulars, as in their respective times were thought convenient; yet so as that the main body and essentials of it (as well in the chiefest materials, as in the frame and order thereof) have still continued the same unto this day, and do yet stand unfirm and unshaken, notwithstanding all the vain attempts and impetuous assaults made against it by such men as are given to change, and have always discovered a greater regard to their own private fancies and interests than to the duty they owe to the public.

Any departure from a long-established custom is immediately taken notice of, and is calculated to give offence to some party. It is of this departure from established custom, &c., that I now complain in the practices of the party in question. Whether the said party be large or small, or united in such observances, does not affect the question. The Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin is (or else a widely-circulated report misleads the public) its only

avowed head, and to him a most reverential deference is given by the less eminent members of that faction.

With respect to what I am now advancing, I do not write as one personally acquainted with the facts, and my reason will be duly appreciated by every honest mind. I dare not, as an educated man, enter any place where a fellow-creature is standing at his post and off his guard, for the purpose of smiting a brother secretly, as a spy; and as a Christian man, I could not join his assembly in the capacity of a fellow-worshipper, when in my conscience I regarded him as engaged in such practices (to use the mildest term) as are only calculated to mislead the weaker minds of others. I should have been guilty of a great sin to my weaker brethren by sanctioning, through my own presence, any such disorderly and irregular proceedings; for they that are guilty of sinning against the brethren and wounding their weak conscience, sin against Christ. My information is obtained from the report of others, who are well acquainted with the facts, and if I am misinformed, or lie under any wrong impression respecting them, I am ever most ready to listen to what is reasonable, and, as a reasonable man, to make all possible amends for any injury committed through ignorance or negligence. If I were not fully convinced in my own mind that the facts I have appealed to were correct, I should never have brought them forward, much less made them a subject of discussion.

There is a departure from the accustomed mode of conducting divine worship within the walls of that very building where all our collegiate establishment is expected to be present when the university sermons are delivered. This practice is not, indeed, sanctioned by the University, neither does it occur during the time the members are necessarily present, but in its parochial character as a place of public worship. The innovation I complain of is, the changing of the place where the officiating minister leads the divine worship in his early services. I do not, in my remarks on this head, presume to set myself up as a competent judge in such matters; I merely intimate, as my own individual opinion, that if any material alteration, like the one adopted by the Rev. Mr. Newman, is for the edification of our people, we, as ministers under the same bishop, ought to be made acquainted with it through the proper channel, and I think I might answer for all my brethren in the ministry, (at least those of them who are resident in Oxford,) that immediate deference would be paid to the wishes of their superior, more particularly if it were, as it doubtless would be, for the benefit of their respective congregations. There is an error in judgment, at least, in the shifting of the place from that part of the building where it was formerly celebrated, to the first step of the communion table, kneeling upon which, the minister leads the public prayer.

But I complain more of the alteration of position that has been adopted likewise by the officiating minister; not that I regard any particular posture of the natural body as more acceptable to his Lord in the spiritual worshipper; but, for the sake of order in an orderly church, I do look upon it as a duty we owe to our fellow-worshippers, to adopt such a position and posture of the body as shall be most convenient for the whole assembly.

The practice of the officiating minister is of this description, as far as I am able to comprehend it:—" He kneels on a low cushion, placed on the step of the communion-table, and turns from the congregation *with his face towards the communion-table*, in which position *he continues during* the prayers." He is not, however, singular in this practice: " a chapel of ease to this same church," about three miles distant from Oxford, on the Henly road, " has been recently consecrated, and the curate adopts precisely the same practice; reading the lessons from a small moveable desk, which just contains the bible, and offering the prayers from a small octavo prayer-book, kneeling on the step of the communion table, with his face turned from the people towards the east." *

* Since the above was written, I have been within the walls of the new church at Littlemore, happening to pass that way, and finding the door open and a person sweeping it out against the following sabbath; I am therefore able to add my own testimony to the above, as I have inspected the place where this strange work is being carried on. As I have never set my foot within the walls of a mass-house, I cannot decide upon the comparative merits of the case, but according to the descriptions afforded me, and the drawings I have seen, I should fear the parallel was as correct as it is conceivable. I felt an indescribable horror stealing over me, as I carried my eye towards the eastern wall of the building, and beheld a plain naked cross, either of stone or a good imitation of it, rising up and projecting out of the wall, from the centre of the table of communion, and forming the fulness of one of those arches which are so ornamentally arranged in sevenfold perfection within the rails. There, adjoining the gates of the said railed fence, was the hassock, upon which, not long before, a minister of the Reformed and Protestant Church of England had been kneeling. I could not divest my mind of that fond delusion of the man of sin, who openly bows down before the image of the cross, and worships the painted wood or the cold stone. May my natural eye never fall upon such a degrading spectacle. Above the arches rose the eastern window, in the elegant symmetry of the early English style of architecture, with its triple tier of lights, in the central division of which my offended eye detected one pane of glass, like a drop of blood, polluting the whole, and upon this I found the representation of an ornamental cross, or crosslet. I mention this, because it confirms the account I had heard so often repeated of a sermon delivered, some time after the opening of the said church, by the Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin, in which he drew the attention of his hearers to the perfect pattern that he had followed in the erection of the building—comparing the windows, to the twelve apostles; the seven arches, to the pillars of the church; the window of three divisions, to the mystery of the Trinity, &c., &c., &c. I take this little stained pane of glass to be the distinguishing emblem of the Second Person in the Trinity. The next thing that arrested my attention was a second table or side-board, within the same rails as the Lord's table—the latter, indeed, of stone, similar to the old monuments we see in many of our churches—the former, made of wood, attached to the wall, and most ingeniously contrived, so as to have

Whatever reasons these individuals may be able to assign for such proceedings, I am by no means curious to learn. But I confess I am rather curious to learn if their bishop sanctions the same; for if it be the proper place and posture for conducting the early public worship, I should be very unwilling to bring upon myself any imputation of irreverence in my celebration of an early service, which I occasionally conduct in my small episcopal chapel. If the Bishop has recommended it to one of his clergy, I think he should, as an act of kindness to the others, make his recommendation public. This is the time, if any ever was, for the clergy of the Established Church to be of one mind, at least in these forms and ceremonies, upon which every inmate of the building in which we assemble believes himself competent to pronounce an opinion. I object, however, to the thing itself, for many reasons, and not the least, because I do not find any sanction for it among my various instructions in the red-letter department of our Book of Common Prayer.

The turning towards the table of the Lord on the part of the officiating Minister, is calculated to give the congregation an improper notion of the sanctity of the article itself; the Roman catholics call it the altar; and I regret that the long-established habit of common conversation should so long have seemed to encourage such a delusion. Our Reformers were most cautious in not applying in any part of our Book of Common Prayer this term to that table of communion. And we ought to be careful, lest by any of our practices we encourage such an idea. It is calculated to destroy the essential feature of the atoning death of Christ, of which the Sacrament is not a commemorative sacrifice, but a memorial. An

the appearance of a large bracket, or shelf, but the supporting limb reaching down to the ground. Upon this the articles of bread and wine are deposited previously to their being placed, by the priest, upon *the table*, for consecration. I should not have mentioned this circumstance at all, if my attention had not, in this manner, been drawn to the subject, and had I not known that a moveable table is made use of in other churches for the same purpose, by which means the public labour under an impression that a peculiar and more than ordinary sanctity is attributed to that upon which the consecrated elements are placed, and that it is identical with the altar in use among the *Roman catholics*. There is, I am aware, too little attention paid to decency and order in respect to the different ceremonies, and places, and articles, used in our public assemblies of divine worship, but let us not, by any unnecessary attention to things of this nature, be led, by slow though certain steps, into the opposite extreme. The people have still, in the great mass, a reverence, and respect, and an affection, for our church, and its rites, and its ceremonies; and if that reverence should be turned into superstition or disgust, it must arise from the ill-directed zeal, or ignorance, of their respective parochial ministers. The engine of power, wielded by a parochial minister, who superintends his flock, and exercises his influence among them by appealing to their intellect, and bases that appeal upon the word of God,—who governs them by the silken reins of that love which is in Christ Jesus, and not by a blind devotion to him merely because he is their pastor, is, indeed, a most blessed and efficient instrument for their good, both here and hereafter.

altar necessarily implies a sacrifice; but Christ himself is both an altar and sacrifice sufficient for the wants of his people.*

Besides this, it savours of *Heathenism* as well as *Orientalism*. It is a turning to the East—one of the very worst features of the Jewish apostacy in the day of that fearful visitation of the sins of the children of Judah in the time of the Prophet Ezekiel :—

"And he brought me into the inner court of the Lord's house; and, behold, at the door of the temple of the Lord, between the porch and the altar, were about five and twenty men, with their backs towards the temple of the Lord, and their faces towards the east; and they worshipped the sun toward the east."—Ezekiel, viii. 16.

It is nothing more or less than worshipping the star of their god Remphan. (Acts, vii. 43.)

"Then said he unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen what the ancients of the house of Israel do in the dark, every man in the chambers of his imagery? for they say, the Lord seeth us not; the Lord hath forsaken the earth."—Isaiah, viii. 12.

"Woe to Ariel, to Ariel, the city where David dwelt! add ye year to year, let them kill sacrifices. Yet I will distress Ariel, and there shall be heaviness and sorrow: and it shall be unto me as Ariel. And I will camp against thee round about, and will lay siege against thee with a mount, and I will raise forts against thee. And thou shalt be brought down, and shalt speak out of the ground, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy voice shall be as of one that hath a familiar spirit, out of the ground, and thy speech shall whisper out of the dust."—Isaiah, xxix. 1—4.

I am the more confirmed in this my suspicion of the animal feelings, or physical *nature*, having an intimate association with such a practice, from the following extract of the same individual's printed circular to his flock at Littlemore, upon the laying of the stone of the new church.

I give the whole of the second part of it, and leave it to the reader's plain reasoning faculties to decide whether I have not some foundation for apprehending that an undue attention is paid to these niceties of place and position :—

TO MY PARISHIONERS, ON OCCASION OF LAYING THE FIRST STONE OF THE CHURCH AT LITTLEMORE.

. . . . My brethren, these are grounds of encouragement from Scripture that God will bless our present undertaking. But besides these, something has occurred on this very spot since we began to prepare for this building, which I trust may be taken, without presumption, as an evidence of his graciously allowing and accepting it. When the workmen came to dig, they found four skeletons. These were the bodies of Christians who had died in the faith of Christ. They were buried east and west, in token of their hope of a blessed resurrection to life eternal, for which their souls are still waiting. Now I take comfort from this, for it shews me, as I think, that some sanctuary of God has been on this very spot before now, that the place we stand on is holy ground. The dust of his saints and servants is beneath our feet, and by discovering to us the "dry bones

* That Mr. Newman encourages this fond fancy of the Roman catholics seems very probable, from a passage in his Sermons to this effect:—"The ordinances which we behold force the unseen truth upon our senses. The very disposition of the building, the subdued light of the aisles, the altar, with its pious adornments, are figures of things unseen, and stimulate our fainting faith."—(See Sermons, vol. iii., p. 273.)

which shall one day live," (Ezek. xxxvii.) he seems to remind us that we are of one body with them, joint members with them of Christ, fellow-heirs of the hope of glory. That we may say, with Jacob, on the occasion already referred to, "Surely the Lord is in this place, and we knew it not; how dreadful is this place, this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven!" Yet while the vision at Bethel was dreadful, it was pleasant and cheering also—and so is this discovery to us; for we learn thereby, that in this our present work, we are but building upon old foundations—we are renewing Christ's work in the midst of the years—we are raising a second Temple on the original site. The ancient truth alone endures; as it was in the beginning, so now, and for ever; and we, in standing here, where the saints stood and laboured, died, and were buried, in the old time, unite ourselves invisibly to them, interest ourselves in their blessedness, inherit their grace, and become partakers of their steadfastness. "Every plant which the Father hath not planted shall be rooted up." Every thing that is new is like grass, withering ere it is grown up; but the Word, and the Church, came from of old, from the everlasting God, and abide for ever. JOHN H. NEWMAN.

July 21, 1835.

Now it so happens that the Athenians, from the earliest time, according to the testimony of Diogenes Laertius, were in the habit of burying their dead in this fashion:—

"He prevailed upon them [i.e., the Athenians,] to add the Thracian Chersonese to their other possessions; and that it might appear that they had come into possession of Salamis, not merely by a superiority of power, but also with justice on their side, having excavated certain tombs, he shewed the corpses turned towards the rising of the sun, as it was customary among the Athenians to bury their dead; and the tombs themselves looking towards the east, and the epitaphs of the people inscribed upon them, which is peculiar to the Athenians."*

If, therefore, in laying the foundation of the church now being erected at Athens, they should dig up any skeletons lying east and west, I see no illogical subtlety that the officiating minister could be guilty of if he were to say to the modern Athenians that their forefathers, from the earliest ages, were joint members with himself of Christ, and fellow-heirs of the hope of glory. If the Virgin Mary had not been worshipped in olden time at Littlemore, as well as in Oxford, of which there are sufficient proofs, there would have been an equal probability of the spot upon which the chapel is erected having been a Jewish burying-ground, as they bury their dead in the same fashion as the Athenians, and I believe this to be no uncommon practice amongst most nations that are in the habit of burying their dead. To say the least of such a custom, to build anything upon it is very unsafe, but to build the pure religion of Abraham, Moses, David, or Christ, is very unwise.

Turn we next to the vestments of our clergy.

* *Ἔπεισε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐν Θρᾳκῃ Χερρόνησον προσκτήσασθαι, ἵνα δὲ μὴ δοκοίη βίᾳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκῃ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα κεκτῆσθαι, ἀνασκάψας τινὰς ταφους, ἔδειξε τοὺς νεκροὺς πρὸς ἀνατολας ἐστραμμενους, ὡς ἦν ἔθος θάπτειν Ἀθηναιοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ταφους πρὸς ἕω βλεποντας, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δημων τοὺς χρηματισμους, ἐγκεχαραγμενους, ὅπες ην ἰδιον Ἀθηναιων.*—(Life of Solon; from Diogenes Laertius' "Lives of Illustrious Philosophers." Edition by Hen. Steph., p. 31, anno 1584, duplicate copy from the British Museum.)

VESTMENTS OF THE CLERGY.

ANOTHER subject that demands the notice of our superior clergy is a slight innovation in the vestments of our younger brethren, who are only in deacons' orders. One of those ornaments of the ministers of the church of England in use in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, has, by some means or other, been recovered, and made its appearance, not only in one of the Oxford churches, but also in a chapel of one of our most eminent and distinguished colleges. The precise form of this long-lost article of ministerial apparel I cannot exactly describe, having never seen it. But according to the information of those who have seen it, I should conceive that the following description will give some idea of its shape and form. It is a long strip of silk, about two inches and a half in width, thrown over the left shoulder, where it is fastened by a pin or button, and extends downwards to the bottom of the surplice, before and behind, with a fringe of the same material at each end, and a cross of black silk raised or embossed just above the fringed border, the arms of the cross being extended cornerwise, or in the shape of the Martyr's or St. Andrew's Cross.* To the restoration of this habiliment, so long laid by, surely no one can make any serious objection; but of this I think the clergy in general have a right to complain, that instructions for the resuming of it have not been issued from that quarter whence, alone, it is fitting they should emanate. I conceive it is not an act of courtesy to our superiors, if we have found out that which they have overlooked, to adopt the same without their special sanction. Such a circumstance, I imagine, trifling as it may appear, is calculated to engender a very unpleasant spirit among our younger clergy. The youthful mind is sufficiently inflammable, without the aid of any novel or unnecessary badge of office. If it is for the edification of our people, and the promotion of better order and decency among ourselves, let us all wear the same thing; if we be not of one mind on the more abstruse points of doctrine, surely we may on the simple article of dress, when an exact pattern of our vestments can be procured. I have no doubt that the aged and venerable president of the college to which I have alluded, who has spent a long life in studying the long-concealed writings and literary treasures of by-gone days, would readily co-operate with any one of his society who might *wish* to restore such a vestment to its

* I have since been informed that this vestment is not peculiar to the order of deacons, but is a portion also of the ministerial apparel of the priest, being then worn, like a chaplain's scarf, across both the shoulders. I therefore expect that those who have adopted it in their diaconal ministrations, will, as soon as they are admitted into the order of the priesthood, set their brethren, the priests, an example of conformity to this ancient custom.

proper place. All I lament is, that these things are taken up by a few only, and that attention to consistency in our clergy is overlooked by them. Let us not make that robe which ought to be without seam, a rent one, and a parti-coloured dress. These are the days for unity in her clergy, if ever this country has seen them.

Although the keeping or omitting of a ceremony, in itself considered, is but a small thing; yet the wilful and contemptuous transgression and breaking of a common order and discipline is no small offence before God. "Let all things be done," saith the apostle, "decently, and in order;" the appointment of the which order pertaineth not to private men; therefore no man ought to take in hand, nor presume to appoint or alter any public or common order in Christ's church, except he be lawfully called and authorized thereunto.

And whereas, in this our time, the minds of men are so diverse, that some think it a great matter of conscience to depart from a piece of the least of their ceremonies, they are so addicted to their old customs; and again, on the other side, some are so new-fangled that they would innovate all things, and so despise the old, that nothing can content them but that is new.

It has been the aim of those who composed our liturgy and recorded our instructions in the rubric of the Book of Common Prayer, not so much to have respect how to please either of these parties as how to please God, and profit them both. And if the times in which we live are so very different from those in which the Fathers of the Reformation lived, let us take such cautious and temperate steps towards correcting the said grievances as shall not destroy altogether the efficiency of our ministrations.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FATHERS, ETC.

"Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils; for wherein is he to be accounted of? For, behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts, doth take away from Jerusalem and from Judah the stay and the staff, the whole stay of bread, and the whole stay of water, the mighty man, and the man of war, the judge, and the prophet, and the prudent, and the ancient, the captain of fifty, and the honourable man, and the counsellor, and the cunning artificer, and the eloquent orator. And I will give children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them."—Isaiah, ii. 22; iii. 1—4.

THE long-mooted and truly complex subject of the Fathers demands some notice in a work of this nature, more especially when we bear in mind that these individuals and their followers have been led away from the right path by their blind attachment to such guides. I shall be as brief on this head as I can; I would, indeed, gladly pass it over in solemn silence. I think it to be one of the most painful features of this heresy to bring the good old Fathers before the public only to expose their infirmities, and set them up as objects of ridicule and contempt. I could have wished them to have fallen into better hands; I think even Rome would have dealt more mercifully with them.

What can I say of them? Why, if I should say that they now rest from their labours, and their works follow them, I am giving them all the praise that God the Holy Ghost has, in his great condescension, lavished upon them; and more than this, they, if appealed to, would not be willing to accept. I will write of them as far as God's word permits me to do of all who truly turn to God, and sleep in Jesus—"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them." (Rev. xiv. 13.) Many of their writings, indeed, remain to this day, and that is no small honour. But we must bear in mind that they are not left behind for an enlightened, much less a Christian public, to make an improper use of them. They were only "witnesses" when living, and who has sufficient logic to prove that they are more now they are dead? Their varied written productions are not adequate testimony or authority to satisfy a child of God in matters relative to salvation, or on any subject of vital interest to the soul. Let us ask those who are best versed in the different curious relics of their patrician

museum a few simple questions about them; perhaps they may satisfy the public on this doubtful point: — 1. Which of all those individual worthies of by-gone years can they bring forward as witnesses, whose evidence is undisputed? Surely Rome has not had any of them in her keeping long without trying the effects of bribery and corruption upon them. 2. To what period of time shall we limit our researches? Are the doctors agreed in this? Does Irenæus make a long arm, and unite himself to Clement of Alexandria? or Tertullian extend his patronage to all the scribblers that followed after him for five or six hundred years? We ought to have a canon issued by this secret conclave before even the apostolicals can decide who is authority, and who is not. 3. What individual can be found laborious enough to edite their variegated and multiform tracts and volumes as they ought to be edited, before they are made use of for such a purpose as a guide to the visible church of Christ on earth? Whose talents or piety are sufficiently exalted to determine what portions of them are interpolations and spurious, and what are genuine and authentic? The learned and talented Oxford doctors and divines may be able to single out their man; but the church of England, pure and apostolical, much less the church of Christ, has never yet found an individual competent, if needful, to undertake such a responsible office; and she has had among her members and her bishops, in former days, many individuals before whom the most eminent of the apostolical phalanx would be as grasshoppers, either in human learning or biblical theology.

The Fathers! What were they? I answer the question myself; they were men. And what more are we, whose names are now in print before the public. The world, or, at least, our own friends and acquaintance, (I speak with all humility as far as I myself am concerned—I have but few admirers, and still fewer friends,) may call us, perhaps, "*good men.*" They could not say more of the earliest fathers. Our goodness extendeth not to our God; much less, then, can we expect it to extend to his church.

I would now make a few observations upon the Fathers, before I go on to another subject, in order to shew how much caution is needful in every one that consults them. In the *first* place, they had no standard edition of God's word; they took their doctrines and theories from the Greek version of the old scriptures, and we know that, at the very commencement of the Christian era, the *Latin* gradually supplanted the Greek as a general language, and, according to the testimony of Augustine, (De Doct. Christ., lib. ii. c. 11,) the Latin church possessed a very great number of versions of the scriptures, made at the first introduction of Christianity, whose authors were unknown; and in these times, as soon as any one found a Greek copy, he thought himself sufficiently versed in each language to set about a trans-

lation. To remedy the evils consequent upon such a variety of versions, Jerome, at the request, and under the patronage, of Pope Damasus, towards the close of the fourth century, undertook to revise the edition that had been made by Origen, to bring it more into conformity with the original Greek; he completed his task A.D. 390—91. Of this revision, the book of Job and the Psalms, (which alone have been preserved to our times,) together with the Chronicles, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Solomon, are all that were ever published. Before he had finished this revision of Origen's labours, he had commenced a translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew into the Latin, in order that the Western church might know the real meaning of the Hebrew text, that they might be the better qualified to engage in controversy with the Jews.

This version, we are informed, upon the authority of persons competent to decide on such a subject, surpassed all former ones. We learn from Augustine that it was introduced into the churches by degrees, for fear of offending weak persons; its authority became at last so great among the different churches, that, ever since the seventh century, it has been exclusively adopted by the Romish church, under the name of the Vulgate version; and, by a decree of the Council of Trent, in the sixteenth century, it was commanded that the Vulgate alone should be used wherever the Bible is publicly read, and in all sermons, expositions, and disputations.

I shall give one extract, just to shew how much their very best version was at variance with the original. The very first promise made to man in his fallen state is made of none effect by its transfusion into the language of the Beast. The first setting forth of Christ as the propitiation for sin is obscured, if not entirely destroyed:—

"Inimicitias ponam inter te it mulierem et semen tuum et semen illius, *ipsa* conteret caput tuum, et tu insidiaberis calcaneo ejus."—(Gen. iii. 15.)

The above passage is thus rendered in the Douay version (the one in use among the members of the church of apostate Rome):—

"I will put enmities between thee and the woman, and thy seed and her seed; *she* shall crush thy head, and thou shalt lie in wait for *her* heel."

To the above I find the following note:—

"Ver. 15. *She shall crush—Ipsa*, the woman; so divers of the Fathers read this place, conformably to the Latin: others read it *ipsum*—viz., the seed. The sense is the same; for it is by her seed, *Jesus Christ*, that the woman crushes the serpent's head."

Thus we see the streams of life, joy, and consolation, are poisoned at their very fountain. The woman is raised upon the

Beast as soon as ever they find an opportunity; the human nature of Christ is thus defiled by being made subservient to the woman, making the woman, through her Son, the serpent's destroyer, not the power of Jehovah, in the person of his own dear Son. This may satisfy the purblind readers of the language of the Beast; and Mr. Newman and his party may be unable to detect the vile abomination; but it can never satisfy one of the least of the disciples of Jesus Christ, who know, in their own experience, the blessedness of the finished work of Christ, and need no other mediator between God and themselves. I hope Dr. Pusey, in his edition of the writings of the Fathers, will set the public right on this important head, and remove from the Fathers the imputation of the grossest ignorance or impiety thus cast upon them by the metaphysical jargon of the Roman commentator and translator. I think that even the most ingenious and astute reasonings of his friend the vicar of St. Mary the Virgin will not be sufficient to frame any tract or discourse that shall make this abomination palatable to any honest and sincere mind, particularly when there is not the slightest foundation for such a translation in the *Hebrew* original. I will refer the reader to the commentaries written upon the subject for further proof; they say, that in no way whatever can the idiom of the language used by the Holy Ghost be distorted so as to admit of the word translated *she* being so rendered.

The Fathers, therefore, were not only ignorant of the letter of the Holy Spirit, but had not a version of God's word that was worthy of being called a correct translation. If so, we may expect them to be little deserving our notice on points of doctrine. It is my humble opinion they may be made to say anything we please. I will just let my readers have an instance of their discrepancy on one of the simplest subjects, and I will then humbly ask,—Can we, in our consciences, believe that such persons had a sufficient measure of the Holy Ghost given them as to authorize the visible church to follow them as guides, or depend upon them as authority, in their exposition of the meaning of God's word?

THE BAPTISM OF FIRE.

"The baptism of fire has been differently understood among the primitive Fathers. Some say, it means the tribulations, crosses, and afflictions, which believers in Christ are called to pass through. Hence the author of the Opus Imperfectum, on Matthew, says, that there are three sorts of baptism:—1. That of water; 2. That of the Holy Ghost; and, 3. That of tribulations and afflictions, represented under the motion of fire. He observes further, that our blessed Lord went through these three baptisms:—1. That of water he received from the hands of John; 2. That of the Holy Ghost he received from the Father; and, 3. That of fire he had in his contest with Satan in the desert.

"St. Chrysostom says, it means *the superabundant graces of the Spirit.* Basil and Theophilus explain it of *the fire of hell.* Cyril, Jerome, and others, under-

stand by it *the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost.* Hilary says, it means *a fire that the righteous must pass through in the day of judgment,* to purify them from such defilements as necessarily cleaved to them here, and with which they could not be admitted into glory.

"Ambrose says, this baptism shall be *administered at the gate of paradise, by John the Baptist;* and he thinks that this is what is meant by the flaming sword, (Gen. iii. 24.) Origen and Lactantius conceive it to be *a river of fire,* at the gate of heaven, something similar to the Phlegethon of the heathens; but they observe, that when the righteous come to pass over, the liquid flames shall divide and give them a free passage; that Christ shall stand on the brink of it, and receive through the flames all those, and none but those, who have received in this world the baptism of water in his name; and that this baptism is for those who, having received the faith of Christ, have not in every respect lived conformably to it, for, though they laid the foundation, yet they built hay, straw, and stubble upon it, and this work of theirs must be tried, and destroyed by this fire. This they think is St. Paul's meaning, (1 Cor. iii. 13—15.) If any man build on this foundation (viz., Jesus Christ,) gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble, every man's work, of what sort it is . . . . If any man's work be burnt, but he himself shall be saved, yet so by fire.

"From this fire, understood in this way, the Fathers of the following ages, and the schoolmen, formed the famous and lucrative doctrine of Purgatory. Some in the primitive church thought that fire should be, in some way or other, joined to the water in baptism; and it is supposed that they ministered it by causing the person to pass between two fires, or to leap through the flame, or by having a torch or lighted candle present. Thus have those called doctors of the church trifled."

And what must the public think of Oxford, if it is thus held up as an encourager of those who overvalue the writings of man? What do I read upon the opened volume posited over the throne of him who is permitted to exercise the highest authority in our University? Do I not read, in the plainest terms, this inscription in the church of St. Mary:—"Dominus illuminatio mea," (*The Lord is my light*—Psa. xxvii. 1.)*

Is it not an opened book, with its seven seals, or clasps, lying in regular succession, wrested from their fastenings? My feelings I cannot describe when, in studying the tables of genealogy, laid up in the beginning of our ancient family bible, I found out that the banner of our University was taken from the same source; and, in

* The woodcut is a representation of the University Arms, in present general use.

my search after more information on the subject, I found a key to all the other mystic emblems. I have placed at the commencement of this volume the entire armorial bearings of our long and deservedly honoured University, but shall not now make any remarks on it, but leave it for a practical purpose. If the members of the University will take them up and wear them, no explanation will be required. I leave it to the Regius Professor of Hebrew to give the University the benefit of his Talmudic researches, and his practical knowledge of types and prophecies; these armorial bearings may be most satisfactorily deciphered and commented upon by any one learned in the scriptures, and acquainted with the Jewish Fathers. If he should not feel disposed to do so, or admit his ignorance of their application to a Christian academy, I suppose I may, at some future day, be permitted to perform that office myself. It may be asked, whence came these emblems? Our learned or liberal divines may treat it as some fanciful speculation, and ascribe it to chance, or accident, or some other reason palatable to the taste of the wise men of this world; but to those who know that even the very hairs of our head are all numbered, it will be very evident that the finger of God is in it. The opened book is an illustration of what Oxford is now engaged in—namely, sending forth, from her splendid printing-machines, the unshackled word of the Most High God,—the only adequate antagonist popery or infidelity has ever grappled with. "The pure word of God is his *boundary wall*, his line of demarcation for his own people, from a world lying in the evil one." It is beautifully illustrated by the Hebrew etymology of the word so frequently used in the scriptures to express the same, being applicable both as a boundary to those within, and a defence from those without,—I mean the word חוֹמָה, implying a material that has stood the test of fire. It is used by the Holy Spirit in one passage, in close connexion with the word *fire*:—"Jerusalem shall be inhabited as towns without walls, for the multitude of men and cattle therein. For I, saith the Lord, will be unto her a wall of fire (אֵשׁ חוֹמַת) round about, and will be the glory in the midst of her."—(Zech. ii. 4, 5.) And let me ask, shall that book stare us in the face to our confusion? Dare any sincere follower of Jesus Christ stand up in that pulpit, and build upon any other foundation than the word of God?—in a pulpit, in this my day brought back mysteriously to that very position it occupied in years gone by, when a Latimer or Ridley was permitted to preach the pure gospel of the grace of God, the hooks connected with that pulpit being still visible, and witnessing the fact that Oxford once had those to teach her sons who were ready to resist the encroachments of Babylon and Jezebel, even to blood. Can any one, preaching in his own right, or by

* M.S. Exercise for B.D. degree, performed 12th April, 1837.

virtue of the selection of convocation, lay his hand on his heart, or lift up his eye to that book before him, and at the same time take the Fathers for his light, and forsake that glorious Sun from whence they obtained all their light? Shall the intellect of Oxford, to say nothing of its piety, presume to pile upon their unsealed bible any of the writings of fallible man? Will they now quietly look on, and suffer their learned doctors, or their popular teachers of theology, to heap up, even in their University pulpit, not the seven, but the seventy tomes of human learning and research, with such a motto as this, "*Patres deliciæ meæ*"—The Fathers are my delight? Oh, let not the free circulation of our bibles issuing from the literary warehouses on the outside of the walls serve as a melancholy contrast to what is going on within; let us not permit the streams of Reuben to rob us of the treasures of the Book of Levi! May our pulpits yet re-echo the joyful sound, NOTHING BUT CHRIST, AND HIS WORD, PURE AND UNDEFILED! While we have James and Cephas as pillars in the church of God, let us rest satisfied with the provision the Head of the church has made for us, and not build upon any of those that man would chisel out for us.

CHAPTER IX.

PARALLEL OF HISTORY AND POPERY, ETC.

"Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer. If thou put the brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ, nourished up in the words of faith and of good doctrine, whereunto thou hast attained. But refuse profane and old wives' fables, and exercise thyself rather unto godliness."—1 TIMOTHY, iv. 1—7.

HAVING, in my announcement of this publication, drawn the attention of my readers to the subject of past history, I would now, as concisely as I am able, appeal to the analogy of former days, as a plausible reason for apprehending danger under the present aspect of the times. I conceive that this method of viewing the present case is at least as consistent with right reason as that which they adopt who contend for the supremacy of the fathers.

Past history has for a long period supplied me with a better commentary upon the dealings of the Lord with his creatures than I can find in any human theories or fanciful calculations. It supplies an illustration, by analogy, of God's providential interference in the affairs of mankind as their Ruler and Judge. Similar results are deduced from similar causes. Our God is a Being, consistent in his superintendence as well of the moral as of the natural world, and it does not follow that because we are unable to perceive this, that such is not his method of operation. I bring forward as an illustration of what I conceive may be the consequences of carrying the present views of this party,—as far as they must of necessity be carried, if a timely check be not given to them,—a singular parallel in the history of our own country, and that, too, not so very distant from our own times, that we can expect to find any individual prepared to gainsay the facts. The passage itself, as it appears in the annals to which I refer, will be found in Appendix III., Letter (A.)

During the reign of Queen Anne, immediately after the proposition then made for the building of fifty new churches in the neighbourhood of London, we find that there was manifested among the clergy of the establishment, a positive tendency

towards popery; and their views all but identical with what I apprehend to be the notions entertained by the admirers of the new school of theology that I am now engaged in confronting. The same arbitrary disposition, and exclusive or uncharitable spirit, (I soften down my words as much as I dare consistently with my convictions,) together with the same development of independence of mind, is witnessed in each. And if my parallelism be correct, the same result may well be looked for, I mean an attempt, on the part of our superior clergy, to put a stop to it. The reason why they have not interfered hitherto, is doubtless on account of the singular state of the times, and the speciousness of the life and conversation of the individuals that are engaged in these schismatical proceedings. Some of them surely must have such an insight into the politics of human action, as to have their misgivings as to the result, and cannot but tremble for the danger to which they are hereby exposed. When I consider the difference that there is in the state of the public mind and morals of these two parallel periods of our history, I, as an individual, am not prepared to say how awful a crisis may be expected. I cannot refrain from alluding to the parallel history of my own ancestors, as connected with the spread of error in this country in former days. The Maurices have been before the public, at two different and distant periods of time, contending for the faith once delivered to the saints. The first of that name thus connected with theological controversy, was Henry Maurice, D.D., Fellow of Jesus College, and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, in the year 1691. He stood up and opposed the encroachments of literal Rome, and defended our church from the attacks of its common enemies, and was a champion boldly rebuking those who were endeavouring to bring diocesan episcopacy into disrepute before the public. His works remain to this day, and testify of his devotion to true protestant principles, and it may perhaps serve as an apology, if any be needed, for thus, in the latter day, another of the family standing up to defend our venerable church from its multiform and bitter enemies, when persons, humanly speaking, far more competent to the undertaking, are unwilling to interfere.

The other witness that I now cite is, in *name* as *well as blood*, more nearly connected with myself, and brought up at the same college, dedicated to the same Saviour by the same memorable name,—I mean Peter Maurice, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College. A sermon preached by him before the University of Oxford, November 30, 1718, and published with a preface in 1729, is a very satisfactory testimony handed down to us that those mystical and undefinable attributes laid claim to by some of the ministers in the established church, and conceded by their followers among the laity, is no new theory, but an offset from that

root of bitterness which has before defiled our apostolical church, and that there existed in his day a very strong party, whose views resembled, as near as possible, those now held by the Newman and Pusey school. I think the sermon well deserving the perusal of those who are interested in the subject, and have had it transcribed from the copy in the British Museum, for the purpose of appending it to my own pamphlet. I find it in the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library, as the *last* of a volume of tracts published about that time, and entitled, by the person who made out the list of contents, " Mr. Maurice's Antidote against Mr. Betty's Sermon"—[a sermon preached before the University of Oxford, on Sunday, the 21st of September, 1729, by Joseph Betty, M.A., Fellow of Exeter College, in Oxford.]

Concerning this my kinsman and namesake, it is not necessary that anything more should now transpire, except that he was Dean of Bangor Cathedral from the year 1727 to 1749.

I here draw a short parallel between some of the views held by this widely-spreading faction and the known tenets of the church of Rome; it will then appear that they are gradually making approaches towards that system which they by profession denounce as idolatrous and blasphemous. I shall not attempt to enter into detail upon these points of resemblance, as it would be occupying too much of the reader's time, and I expect shortly to see some creed drawn out by themselves, whereby the public may become better acquainted with their actual doctrines, for such is the mysterious and subtle use to which they apply words and terms of the plainest signification, that it is next to an impossibility to define their real views. It is my own firm conviction, that they do, in some way or other, weaken, if not entirely explain away, all the Thirty-nine Articles, by their metaphysical mode of interpretation.

The church of Rome asserts that hers is the only true church, and that all who are not members of her communion, are out of the pale of salvation.

The church of the separation looks upon all denominations of Christians, and foreign churches, who have not got the apostolical succession, as living in sin, or corrupting the word of God, and gives to the Romish apostacy more *honour*, as a church, than to any who have not got this apostolicity.

The Romish church holds up its priesthood as vested with supernatural powers, in forgiving sins, changing the bread and wine into the actual body and blood of Jesus Christ, in what they call the " sacrifice of the mass."

The other church holds up the ministers of the church of England and all other churches who are of the apostolicity (even those of the apostacy), as being the only persons who have a right to be quite sure that they have the Lord's body to give to his people, &c.

The church of Rome does not permit any of her members to read the Bible themselves, without first obtain-

The other church does not as yet deny the use of the scriptures to any of its members, but appeals to the fathers and

ing a special licence for that purpose; and places the authority of the church above the authority of the divine records.	various traditions as the only rule for deciding the true meaning of the word of God; it consequently prevents all those who are not able to study the fathers and find out the place where the traditions of the church are kept, from exercising their own private judgment, although they may be spiritually enlightened by the Holy Ghost himself, who is promised by the Lord Jesus Christ to each individual that believes in him as alone able to guide into all truth.
The Romish church exalts the Virgin Mary above the rest of womankind, and calls her "the mother of God," &c.	The other church, if Mr. Newman is, indeed, their avowed organ, does the same, if we may so speak.—See p. 35.
The efficacy of the sacraments in this church of the apostacy is regarded as being supernatural.	The other church attaches to both the sacraments a certain virtue and power in the act of using them, which is so mysterious, that their nature, as signs and means of grace to the faithful only, is quite obscured.—See p. 25, 26.
The Romish church denies the doctrine of justification by faith only, without works.	The other church obscures the doctrine by a metaphysical use of *works* as of avail to salvation, by assisting the holy Spirit in strengthening and perfecting the principle (infused, I imagine, at or by baptism).—See p. 33.
The Romish church lays much stress upon outward ceremonies and vestments, and calls that article of furniture, upon which they deposit the consecrated wafer, the altar.	The other church is beginning to imitate her, by kneeling on one of the steps leading to the Lord's table,—by turning their backs upon the congregation,—by calling the table the altar, with an over-scrupulous attention to the depositing of the bread and wine thereon, and by introducing of vestments that have long been out of use in the church of England.

And what is this but popery? and if I call my publication by such a title as that of "The Popery of Oxford," I fear I must, along with too many who have been so long silent, plead guilty to the charge laid against us, for the very act of being cold and lukewarm in such circumstances is nothing but *mental popery*,—i.e., paying more deference to the opinion, the character, the proceedings, of a combination of fallible men than to the plain and infallible word of God. And for a *rebuke* like this to be palatable to those of my readers who are implicated with these men and their practices, is what I am sure I never anticipated, and in what manner it may be received on their part it is not my province to enter into any speculations. The reader will find in Appendix III., Letter (F.), a parallel between popery and the views and practices of the Pharisees, not unworthy his perusal.

CHAPTER X.

FALLING INTO POPERY.

"Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God. Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming: even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness."—2 Thessalonians, ii. 3—12.

The actual increase of literal popery within these few years is very remarkable, and now so well known to the public, that it is not needful for me to appeal to any facts for a confirmation of the same. Five or six years have elapsed since I was informed by an intimate friend, upon whose evidence I could depend, that many of the learned and pious men on the continent entertained an opinion that popery would shew itself once more in Great Britain, and that there would be a great falling away from the Reformed or Protestant Church into a system, in spirit at least, if not in actual form, identical with that of the Roman apostacy; and, surely, if such views as are embraced by those individuals who are associated together as supporters of this Tract Magazine, should continue to spread, there is not only a possibility, but even a probability, of these their opinions being verified. The two individuals that are, as it were, the hinges upon which this door of separation is suspended, are very popular, and have a great influence over the minds of many of our young men, who are destined to occupy stations as ministers in the Church of England, in various parts of the kingdom. Their standing in the University, as well as their connexion with the town, enables them, in their respective spheres, to propagate most extensively their singular theories. The steps, however, adopted by them for the purpose of extending that influence, do not seem to be in strict accordance with the regular discipline of this wisely constituted University; I mean the methods whereby they induce our youths to attend a system of religious instruction hitherto unknown in this University. The zeal displayed by them all must admire, and give them the credit due; but there is, I think, not the slightest

doubt, but an infringement is permitted to be made upon the spirit of the discipline established in this same University. We have our college tutors, who give instruction to the young men in theological as well as in classical literature; we have, besides, two professors of divinity, who deliver public lectures. If these are not sufficient in number, or competent to their high and distinguished office, a public appeal should be made to the authorities in our academy;* instead of which, we are distracted by the announcement of lectures by the King's Professor of Hebrew, (in addition to those he delivers, by virtue of his office, as Hebrew Professor,) on the types and *prophecies*—and this, I believe, by the exertion of a privilege which the University, in its grant of a D.D. degree, has conferred upon each approved candidate. And what must be the result of such *unwise*, I may call them, ungenerous, proceedings? Shall we not have all kinds of doctrine disseminated among our youthful clergy? And such as myself, who have no wish to interfere in the discipline or tuition of the University, must claim our privileges, and use them also in a *disorderly manner*, rather than suffer our consciences to be oppressed with so painful a load. This is a *practice* against which I cannot but loudly protest, which it grieves me to see adopted by Dr. Pusey, and more so when I believe he does it most conscientiously. The Rev. Mr. Newman has been in the habit of making use of his church for the purpose of delivering lectures on Romanism, professedly parochial in their character, but, as far as I can learn, more resembling the lectures delivered to our students, of which his *assembly*, I am informed, is chiefly composed.

These lectures are delivered in a chapel, within the walls of St. Mary the Virgin's church, without any service or prefatory prayer, and I cannot but look upon this as being irregular in the highest degree.†

I cannot tell what principle it is that operates in the mind of

* In the language of the town-clerk of Ephesus, "If Demetrius, and the craftsmen which are with him, have a matter against any man, the law is open (αγοραιοι ἀγονται, και ανθυπατοι εἰσιν· εγκαλειτωσαν αλληλοις), and there are deputies; let them implead one another."—Acts, xix. 38.—The meaning and full force of this classical illustration I need not enlarge upon in a place where all the manners and customs of the ancient Greeks are so much better known than those of the ancient Hebrews. I have often benefited much myself by the wise saying of this learned town-clerk, in the thirty-sixth verse of this same chapter, and I hope to see it more generally adopted. This is a day in which all kinds of learning are of use; and if I had attended as carefully to my classical studies, as I have to my duty as a minister of the Gospel, since the year I took my first degree in arts, I flatter myself that none of our learned societies could have any just grounds to say—"He has not read enough to grapple with such eminent and distinguished men."

† Since the above was written, I find that the vicar of St. Mary's has appended the evening service of our church to these essays. I suppose they do not profess to be either sermons, lectures, or homilies, else there would not be such an open departure from the spirit of our 55th canon, which enjoins a form of prayer (extemporaneous or written) before every sermon, lecture, or homily.

man with such power, as to permit many of talent and learning, nay, of piety, among our young members, to sanction, by their presence, any such departure from the regular course of public instruction. It is asserted, but how true I dare not say, that there are very few *out-and-out* followers of these two leaders; but nobody can question that they have an immense number of *in-and-out* followers. And if this their system be not in strict accordance with the word of God, then that saying of the blessed Lord shall in its own time be verified: *If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch.* I should very much like to know by what sophistry of reasoning these practices can be defended.

The influence acquired by these means must be considerable. Inasmuch as *men*, in a general way, when they adopt any new system, or embrace any novel doctrine, appeal to the leaders of their party as pious, learned, experienced, or talented individuals, surely, then, *young* men will not be behindhand in their appeal to the piety, the benevolence, the experience, the talent, it may be the age, of their leaders. Such as have had any experience in the way of pulpit ministrations, whether in or out of the Establishment, cannot but be aware that many among their hearers soon go far beyond them in their doctrines and theories; consequently they find that the most difficult task a minister of the gospel has to perform is the guarding his hearers from the danger of taking up the doctrines or precepts of the gospel for any other purposes than growth in grace and humility. The feeding of the intellect at the expense of the other equally important *departments* of the constitution of man, of necessity engenders that spiritual pride which is an abomination in the sight of the Lord. The Thyatira-like views of this party are extensively spreading through the country. One of the same school has introduced confusion and consternation into many a pious family of the Isle of Wight by the infusion of this subtle poison of the long-disputed apostolical legacy. I was present myself at a clerical meeting in that island, during the latter part of the year 1833, just after their *Tracts* had been industriously disseminated, and I found they had travelled to that spot before me, and that an individual, eminent himself, eminent, too, as the son of a father whose memory to English hearts will be ever dear, had adopted these erroneous and dangerous theories, and I augured what the result would be, and I have lived to see it verified. My friend that I went to visit there, who would not even *look at* the *Tracts I had* brought along with me, is now carried away by their dissimulation. And if the *piety*, age, and the glowing and deep *experience*, of our Clergy, is not proof against these *Thyatira-like* innovations, what may we expect to be the necessary result in the case of our younger brethren, who, though full of zeal and fire, have had no experience in the workings of their own heart, or of the snares of an evil world? The necessary result of all these things must be, at last, either a schism from the

church of England, or an apostacy to the church of Rome. Man always, when weary, seeks for some resting-place, and when at last he has discovered that his fellow-man is not a sufficient prop for his wearied conscience, he seeks for some safer rock to build upon. No form of religion holds this out so completely as the Roman-catholic; there, in the infallibility and unity of her church, and the apostolicity and the divine authority of her clergy, she lays the foundation of a throne, upon which the deluded soul may sit securely. Our dissenting and seceding brethren will at last discover that their highly-fed partisans must fly for refuge, amidst the conflicting warfare of doctrines and opinions, into the arms of Popery. I speak as a man fully able to appreciate the completeness of that iniquitous system; for if Rome could but have infused one particle of her deadly powder into the pupil of my searching eye, her religion and her communion would be a perfect paradise to my soul. But I trust that the Lord, who has once opened that eye, and opened it to see that the only place of rest for a sin-tossed soul is beyond the veil whither Jesus, "the forerunner, is for us entered," will still keep me safe from any such insidious manœuvres. Have none of our youthful clergy apostatized to Rome? Would that the question were not so easily answered. Has not even the blood of our nobility been tarnished by an unhallowed coalition with that adulterous church? Shall I name the brother of Earl Spencer, the Rev. and Hon. Mr. Spencer, concerning whose first ministrations at Rome I received private information from a friend, who was present when he delivered his first address as a priest in the Romish communion. I shall append an extract from the letter in Appendix III. Letter (B.), as it affords an illustration of what Rome was then doing, and has now in part done.

And who dare say that the young offspring of our nobility or our commonalty are not in similar danger in this our University, where the religion of our reformers is carried to an ULTRA point, not, indeed, on the side of Protestantism, but on the side of the Catholicism of Rome?

As we have, in one of the volumes of the Tracts for the Times, some extracts from the writings of Archbishop Usher, his opinions respecting the increase and final extermination of Popery may be read perhaps by some of the party in question with advantage.

"The year before this holy primate died (who was buried in the Abbey at Westminster, April 17th, 1656; the usurper Cromwell allowing two hundred pounds towards his funeral; so great his worth, that it even charmed that tyrant, otherwise far from being a friend to any of his profession;) an intimate friend of the archbishop's asking him, amongst other discourse, what his present apprehensions were concerning a very great persecution which should fall upon the church of God in these nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, (of which he had heard him speak with great confidence many years before, when we were in the highest and fullest state of outward peace and settlement) and whether he did believe those sad times to be past, or that they were yet to come? he answered,

'That they were yet to come, and that he did as confidently expect it as ever he had done.' Adding, that this sad persecution would fall upon all the Protestant churches of Europe. His friend arguing, that he hoped the affliction might now be over, and be intended of our late calamitous civil wars; the reverend prelate turning towards him, and fixing his eyes upon him with that serious and severe look which he usually had when he spake God's word, and not his own, and when the power of God seemed to be upon him, and to constrain him to speak, said thus: 'Fool not yourself with such hopes, for I tell you, all you have yet seen hath been but the beginning of sorrows to what is yet to come upon the Protestant churches of Christ, who will, ere long, fall under a sharper persecution than ever yet has been upon them; therefore (said he to him) look you be not found in the outward court, but a worshipper in the temple before the altar; for Christ will measure all those that profess his name, and call themselves his people; and the outward worshippers he will leave out, to be trodden down by the Gentiles. The outward court (says he) is the formal Christian, whose religion lies in performing the outside duties of Christianity, without having an inward life and power of faith and love, uniting them to Christ; and these God will leave to be trodden down and swept away by the Gentiles; but the worshippers within the temple, and before the altar, are those who do indeed worship God in spirit and in truth; whose souls are made his temples, and he is honoured and adored in the most inward thoughts of their hearts, and they sacrifice their lusts and vile affections, yea, and their own wills, to him; and these God will hide in the hollow of his hand, and under the shadow of his wings; and this shall be one great difference between this last and all the other preceding persecutions; for in the former, the most eminent and spiritual ministers and Christians did generally suffer most and were most violently fallen upon; but in this last persecution these shall be preserved by God as a seed to partake of that glory which shall immediately follow, and come upon the church, as soon as ever this storm shall be over; for as it shall be the sharpest, so it shall be the shortest persecution of them all; and shall only take away the gross hypocrites and formal professors, but the true spiritual believers shall be preserved till the calamity is overpast.'

"His friend then asked him by what means or instruments this great trial should be brought on? He answered, 'by the papists.' His friend replied that it seemed very improbable they should be able to do it, since they were now little countenanced, and but few in these nations; and that the hearts of the people were more set against them than ever since the Reformation.

"He answered again, 'that it would be by the hands of papists, and in the way of a sudden massacre; and that the then pope should be the chief instrument of it.'

"He also added, 'That the papists were, in his opinion, the Gentiles spoken of Rev. xi. to whom the outward court should be left, that they might tread it under foot; they having received the Gentiles' worship in their adoring images and saints departed, and in taking to themselves many mediators; and this (said he) the papists are now designing among themselves, and therefore be sure you be ready.'

"This gracious man repeated the same things in substance to his only daughter the Lady Tyrril, and that with many tears, and much about the same time.

"But if God, in judgment for our sins, should suffer it so to be, yet it is certain the joy of the wicked shall be but for a moment; for we have a most sure word of prophecy, that in due time Rome shall finally fall, and the kings of the earth shall hate the whore, and make her desolate and naked, and burn her with fire. (Rev. xvii. 16.)

"'Rome, tottering long, laden with errors store,
At last shall fall, and head the world no more.'"

The reader will find in Appendix III. (Letters G. to M.) some extracts of a similar nature, equally deserving a careful perusal—(Dr. Hartley, Gill, Newton, Porteus, Sir Isaac Newton, and Mr. Christopher Love.)

CHAPTER XI.

EFFECT OF THESE VIEWS UPON THOSE WHO EMBRACE THEM.

"And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient: being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents; without understanding, covenant-breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful: Who, knowing the judgment of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them."—Romans, i. 28—32.

Perhaps some may imagine that I am out of my proper sphere when I attempt to shew the probable effects of these kind of views upon the mental and intellectual powers of those that may adopt them; if they can shew that my conjectures and suspicions are incorrect, I shall be ready to admit my error. But as I have been long framing my own life after another pattern from that which the world admires or adopts, I am enabled to weigh things in different balances from those resorted to by popular opinion. I appeal to the Professor of Moral Philosophy, if he has studied the subject in a practical way, whether the standard of University morals has materially improved since the introduction of these novel views. Perhaps he will say they are calculated to produce such an effect; and if they fail to do so, it is in consequence of their not being more extensively adopted,—or for some other plausible reason. Perhaps the authorities of our University will give their unbiassed evidence, that the young men were never in such a state of subordination and discipline as at present, and that there is much reason to believe that these views have been beneficial in drawing the minds of our youths to higher and more heavenly subjects than heretofore. I regret to add that, as far as my own personal knowledge extends, I have reason to conclude that it is quite otherwise. Perhaps the tutors of our colleges may differ from me in my opinion, and say that there is an astonishing improvement in the study of the classics and mathematics generally. But let us go to those who supply our University with their literary treasures, and they will tell you nothing sells so well as the fathers, and the demand made for them, and books of that description, is astonishing; it is the chief marketable commodity; books on other subjects are of secondary moment. Now it is reason-

able to infer that if persons give much attention to such subjects, they cannot apply their minds to the regular course of studies adopted by the University. And if the study of these ancient scribes have not a more purifying effect upon the intellect of the parties that admire them than seems to be already produced by the specimens in "The Tracts for the Times," their practical utility cannot be very great. Perhaps the Regius Professor of Hebrew can appeal to his overflowing lecture-room, and the progress of his students in Hebrew and Rabbinical literature. If he can, let me assure him that it will not, nay, cannot, be the case long; no man can serve two masters. I assert this as one who has long faced the parti-coloured regiments of Amalek, and who has taken up the controversy of Jehovah against him, whether in the Wilderness, or at Ziglag, in the person of Haman, or in that of Herod, or in the multiform procession of those who are now *licking up the way* before the tribes of the Lord, as they journey towards Canaan. I feel convinced that they cannot long attend to the *former* studies, but must give them up altogether for the *latter*. Whenever the Latin fathers and the language of the beast have been much studied, then, as a necessary result, the Rabbinical fathers and the blessed word of God, the language of the Holy Ghost, both the Hebrew and the Greek, have not only been neglected, but despised. And if Dr. Pusey should continue to fill his lecture-room with students of his own divinity, and hold hebdomadal meetings for discussion on these abstruse and dangerous topics, which minister questions rather than godly edifying, which is in faith, I fear the consequence will be, that the study of the languages of the East will be superseded by that of the West, and we shall see a movement made, once more, towards the darkness that is passed. I doubt not that, if any one will take the pains to examine into the history of the University in times gone by, they will find that my theory is not without some foundation to rest upon.

And can nothing be said concerning the tendency of these views as they affect the moral feelings of those that adopt them? Does it not necessarily narrow the mind, and that, too, upon *principle?* (a principle ever paramount in its ascendancy among the varied motives of human action.) Can we look upon others as *brethren*, if we denounce them as being out of the *pale of salvation*, and heirs only of the uncovenanted mercies of God? If this principle has not already been in actual and bitter operation among our members, young and old, I know it must at last develop itself. They of the noble church of Thyatira, who adhere to Jezebel, and they of the same church that abominate her, and look to the purity of their body, must be brought into a painful collision with each other at last; for the persons embracing these views err on the excess of works, and unless the *spirit*

of the Church of Philadelphia (*i.e.* brotherly love) be added to that of the Regal Thyatira (*i.e.* Church and State), there must be a *persecution*, *in spirit* at least, if not *in letter*, resembling the bitterest violence of the *Church of Rome.* Such a creed as Jezebel teaches cannot but freeze up more closely the naturally selfish avenues of a cold and deceitful heart.

If we have the advantage and the superiority of church privileges, let us shew it by our *spirit of love.* With my dissenting brethren I cannot, upon the highest principle, as a conscientious minister of another communion, hold any church fellowship ; but God forbid that I should entertain, much less express, an opinion that, because they follow not among the ranks of the same regiment, they are not in covenant with that gracious Lord who is rich to all that call upon him, for I know that whosoever calleth upon the name of the Lord,—i.e., Jesus Christ, in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead, bodily, shall be saved.

I know that the Dissenters have, for a long season, looked upon me with a very significant eye, and for their sake I have been watchful over my walk and conversation. I know they have regarded me as likely to add another to the list of clerical seceders, but I trust that my Lord, who has seen fit to keep me hitherto in full communion with our Established Church, will preserve me still; and if I am forced to abandon its ministry or its communion—which I pray God may never be my lot—I trust I shall never side with any party in league against it.

I have now been in the field for full nine years ; for the last seven, I trust, striving to act up to the light that is in me, and I have tried and proved every joint of the harness. I have snorted under the bit, and winced under the lash—strained every link of the curb-chain—well nigh snapped the snaffle, as well as needed the kicking-strap—but I trust my proud and rebellious spirit has at length been tamed, and that I shall henceforth run with patience the race set before me, looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of my faith. However strange my conduct may have appeared to many, I have been acting up to the injunction of the Apostle, " Prove all things"—" Hold fast that which is good ;" and could our Reformers, with their hearts of glowing piety, have looked back and seen all our members working together, according to the spirit professed by us in our written documents, what a blessed and lovely sight would they have to contemplate, and how completely satisfied that their confession of faith, their patient endurance, their resistance even to blood, had not been in vain. But, alas ! our wounds stink and are corrupt, and nothing remains to those who sigh and cry over the abominations committed in the land, but to take all possible steps to remove the accursed thing from among us, lest, when the Lord comes to smite the land for its iniquity, our ark and our covenant be in

danger, and we be made to flee before our enemies, like Israel before the men of Ai.

In the next place, let us consider the Effects of these Views upon the Physical or Animal Nature.

An exclusive attention to any one particular subject has almost always an injurious effect upon the general health and personal appearance of the individual that adopts it, and is often productive of serious consequences either to the mental or bodily powers, inasmuch as they never refuse their sympathy when either is affected. There can be no subject more absorbing than that which is of a religious nature. But if Christian discretion and judgment be not added to our zeal, there is a danger of being carried away by our feelings and passions; and as soon as Nature finds any of her laws infringed, she takes upon herself the office of visiting for the offence, and, in the language of Holy Scripture, the sin finds the transgressors out, and punishment necessarily ensues. A close observer of human nature may soon, by the view afforded him in that *mirror* of both the mind and body (I mean the lineaments of each countenance), discover whether the laws of creation are duly attended to. For when any physical propensity is perverted, or mental faculty exercised too violently or selfishly, there is a struggle carried on within, and the nerves and muscles of the human frame, affected by that rebellion, exhibit unequivocal signs of disapprobation through the medium of the features of the countenance. It is the index of expression which the Lord our God in his wisdom has made so conspicuous for the benefit of our fellow creatures, that we may have some other clue, besides mere verbal profession, to the sentiments and feelings of those with whom we have to do. Accordingly, all persons who are able to trace the finger of God in his works may, when they behold the marks thereon exhibited, read the lesson it is calculated to convey. An illustration of this is afforded us in the book of the Revelation of Jesus Christ, where a reference is made to the *mark of the beast in the forehead and in the hand;* because, by indulging in wicked actions, the lineaments of each face become at last moulded after that same dreadful pattern which is copied from the corrupt heart. The woman in the Revelation is described as seated upon the beast, that is, upon an animal—the animal nature of man. She consequently occupies that very station which is laid claim to by God the Holy Ghost, "Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own." He keeps guard there that He may bring every thought of the heart into captivity to the obedience of Christ. Concerning the servants of God, we read also that they receive a mark in their foreheads,—that is, the sanctifying of their nature and the devotion of all their talents and faculties to the true end of their creation, which is the glory

of God. The seal of God, like the seal ring on the hand of a man in authority, has got two impressions,—*one within*, and only known to the individual that wears it, the other read of all who can decipher its inscription. This seal has on the one side a private mark, known to the Lord himself, "*the Lord knoweth them that are his*;" on the other it bears the family motto, "*Holiness to Jehovah. Let him that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.*" If any have attentively watched those who are engaged in erecting buildings for the earthly service of Jehovah, they will understand more *scientifically* the reference made in so many places of God's word to the spiritual temple; I mean, the *private mark* of each mason, which he carves upon the hewn stone before he fixes it in its final resting-place, in order that when the master builder comes to inspect the work, he may, by TURNING UP the topstone and deciphering its hidden mark, discover without difficulty who is the builder of any part of the walls that is not built according to the instructions that were given him.

Whether the views of this party are correct, and according to the Scripture rule, or the reverse, is not material as regards my argument; for let them be ever so excellent in principle, if they be not judicious in their development of the same, they injure rather than promote the glory of God. Let not your good be evil spoken of. Let their views be ever so good, if they engross more of the attention than is for edification they offend against the law of their members, and whatever law is thereby infringed, for that they must suffer in proportion to the offence. If men were but in an ordinary degree acquainted with the mechanism of their own bodies, it would be utterly impossible to lead them astray, as we too often see them led. It is upon the ignorance of their neighbours that the greater part of mankind live. The system of Mental Popery is most extraordinary, and it shews itself in no instance so clearly as in the medical system. Mystery is the order of the day, and the medical practitioner, to keep up his fame, must not depart from the rule laid down, and hereby they are made the Popes of the animal nature of man. Destroy mysticism in its several branches, and you will place things on a completely different basis. When I come to consider the wonderful laws whereby the human frame is regulated, I am lost in amazement that man should continue so long in health rather than that there should be so much sickness. If there was more knowledge, sanctified by the Spirit of God, and regulated by the blessed Word of God, the legerdemain of Popery, with its fastings, penances, absolutions, &c., would be for ever scouted. Man appears to know everything better than himself. I could wish to see in the hands of every one a little work that has now been for some time before the public, which I conceive to be invaluable. I mean "Physiology, as applied to Health and Education, by Dr.

Andrew Combe," (*not* the author of the Constitution of Man.) If it were carefully perused, many of those strange notions that are gaining ground on the subject of fasting, temperance societies, &c. would be placed upon their proper bases, and man be regulated by the principles of enlightened reason, and not by the blind devotion he pays to the example and dictates of his fellow-man.

I do not by these remarks wish to bring any positive charge against the party in question, but only in a general way, what the heathen philosopher would perhaps term the excess of what is good, but the Christian would look upon as a mistake in the principle or end for which these things may be resorted to. Their private life, I question not, is most exemplary and self-denying, and it becomes not a stranger to intermeddle with it. According to the definition of the character of the noble Thyatira, their works are great, but I fear their love is not equal to it. It becomes not a stranger to attend to the many absurd reports circulated to their injury and disadvantage; it would be as foolish as it would be ungenerous in a humble follower of that blessed Being who wept over the miseries and wretchedness of fallen man. I allude to the subject as an abstract question—as a question I can from painful *experience* enter upon and solve. I have been similarly exercised in my own mind, and I can feel (as a MAN at least) for those that are in a similar condition. The time once was when my own mind was most prejudicially affected by an exclusive attention to religious duties and theories, and it operated in such a way upon me as to affect the outward appearance of my person, and my friends could not refrain from making their remarks upon my altered countenance and demeanour. I have, indeed, been painfully exercised, and often on the very brink of falling into those pitfalls which have swallowed up so many of my dear brethren, once labourers together with me in the same harvest field, and members of the same establishment. I may be accused of being changeable, and if I admit it, in times like these, there is no great disgrace attached to such an admission. I have been changeable, if turning a quick and anxious eye to that *point* where the easily shifting vane of the moveable weather-cock has so often veered. I may be called credulous, too, if the taking a person whom the world would call a *good man*, and giving him the credit of being a sincere advocate of his newly-imbibed views, be a symptom of credulity. From a child I watched for the motives of action, and was never satisfied with the bare *act itself*. The knowledge I obtained in youth, by the notice I took of the sect of Jumpers in the wilds of Cambria, gave me such an insight into the machinery of the heart of man, as was a sufficient key-note to the mysterious melodies of the Irvingite delusion. I waited to see how it would turn out, and time discovered to me that my suspicion was not unfounded. It

is by means of that physical influence which we are permitted to exert over each other, that many, if not all, of these conversions, as they are called, are brought about. The doctrines of the sect were taken up as *good*, because the men who had adopted them were men of most devoted and exemplary lives—just the very converse of the rule laid down in the word of God, which advises us to cease *from man, whose* breath is in his nostrils, and turn unto the Lord—to prove all things, and hold fast that which is good. It would take up too much time to point out from history how many heresies have been introduced into the visible church by good men, but they are not a few, or difficult to be brought forward. Man's mind is contracted in its powers, and, therefore, according to its partial bias will it develope itself. Man, when he gets anything into his possession, is in danger of making too much of it, and the better it is, the more liable is it to be abused. "I cannot refrain from dwelling upon one string incessantly," said a warm-hearted brother to me, a few days ago, "and that string is Christ." "It is," was my reply, "a noble string, the fundamental *base*, but, recollect that, if you pull that string too violently, or to the neglect of the other equally essential strings of our mystic harp, you are taking a most effectual step towards marring the harmony. We do not read of a harp of *one string* even in heaven. How necessary, then, to keep all the strings of this, our damaged instrument, in their proper tension while here below, so that, whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do, we may do all to the glory of God." The doctrine may be good, the form of prayer good, the articles good, the ministers good; but to have that good not evil spoken of, let such harmony be displayed in their combination as shall evince to all that we are workmen that need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth; for, as in the most highly finished painting, the dark shades and colours are as essential as the lighter touches, and more transparent colours; and as the perfection of harmony consists in the preparation, resolution, and the scientific arrangement of the different discordant intervals, and not in their being excluded from the well-filled score, so also the harmony and symmetry of the true Christian's life and conversation consists in the blending of all our propensities, faculties, and our energies, so as to bring them to bear upon the same blessed end of glory to God in the highest—peace on earth, good will towards men.

CHAPTER XII.

CONCLUSION.

"And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people; and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever. But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end: many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased. And I heard, but I understood not; then said I, O my Lord, what shall be the end of these things? And he said, Go thy way, Daniel: for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end. Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried; but the wicked shall do wickedly: and none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand."—Daniel, xii. 1—4, 8—10.

It would be a great oversight, in sending forth a work like the one now in hand, not to say a few words by way of caution and advice. I pray that God the Spirit may bless it to the good of those whom it may concern.

Those who are most concerned in this controversy are those individuals to whose special care and protection their natural guardians have entrusted the youth of our academy; they are much interested in their welfare, and are doubtless perplexed in the present emergency as to their path of duty. To them I would say (I speak in all reverential humility, but with feeling), let every action take its rise from the fountain of love; if not from spiritual, at least from natural love. Your station, as well as your age and experience, has placed in your hands a gigantic engine of moral power. A young man, be he ever so viciously disposed, cannot long be impervious to the arrows of love and affection; a kind look, even when the fault demands correction, melts the stony heart. I have been an Under Graduate myself; I recollect with pleasure, and acknowledge with the sincerest gratitude, the attentions that were shewn to me as an Under Graduate of his college, in common with the other younger members of his society, by its Principal, and these have raised him so high in my affections that nothing can blot out the impression thereby made. The state of society is much changed since then; the disposition of our youths to what is good is so self-evident, that I need not say anything on that head. My prayer is, that the power thus vested in your hands, for their good, may be promptly, judiciously, temperately, and affectionately exercised.

Next, I would address a word in reason to those who have the high privilege of directing and superintending the studies of our academy;—much depends upon you. Yours is an intermediate link between the governors and the governed; and much pleasure does it afford me to see that the connexion is becoming of a more familiar and condescending character than it used to be. I might be regarded by some as an individual opposed to the course of education adopted by those that have its direction in this place, as one that could advocate the crude innovations of this unsettling age; but I hope I shall not be uncharitably judged of when I say that the only alteration I desire to see is in the oiling of the wheels of our wisely-constructed machinery, and not in the construction of the machine itself. It is the view that we take of the object and ultimate aim of our studies, not the studies themselves, that shall profit us. To you it specially belongs to lay plainly before your pupils the instructions you receive from that opened volume to which I have before alluded; whether referring to the seven sciences, or the seven spirits of God, or the seven seals of the Book of the Revelation, I do not pause to inquire, but only use it by way of application. Upon it is, "Dominus illuminatio mea." Let them learn, then, both from your teaching and your example, that whatever they do, they must do it all to the glory of God their Saviour, and that he alone can enable them so to wear the three earthly crowns, that they finally be not disappointed of their crown celestial. I may class you under the banner of the church in Sardis, to which I would wish you to pay especial attention.

"Unto the angel of the church of Sardis write; these things saith he that hath the seven Spirits of God, and the seven stars; I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead. Be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die: for I have not found thy works perfect before God. Remember, therefore, how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast, and repent. If, therefore, thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee. Thou hast a few names even in Sardis which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white; for they are worthy. He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels."—Rev. iii. 1—5.

The book and its three crowns ought to be firmly impressed upon your minds. Those who built our noble library took care to make it sufficiently obvious to all that entered; they that among our learned ones enter within those walls cannot be mistaken when they lift up their eyes heavenward—the panelled roof declares with the tongue of the learned to all that can understand it, that light cometh from above. It has been reserved to this day of strange innovations to strip one of these rooms of their

painted banners. Oh, may we never see it erased from the panels of our hearts!

Ere I bring this work to a close I would address a few lines to the inhabitants of our ancient city, whose interests are bound up in the prosperity of their Academy, and let me inquire, What are you engaged in? Whither will you march at the sounding of our trumpet? What do I behold painted upon *the shield* of your armorial *insignia?**

Are these not the ensigns of the standards of Joseph and Reuben? With what feelings do you adhere to your colours? The one as well as the other is descriptive of your character and of your employment. The ox. What is it but one of the Cherubic emblems of Jehovah's power? Is it not, when used for the gratification of the selfish heart of man, a sign of that patient and painful labour that we lavish upon the meat that perisheth in the tilling of the ground for the purpose of filling our storehouses and our barns? And is not this one of the great sins that are now prevalent in this our day, concerning which the divine record says—"Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth to everlasting life?" Again, with respect to the second emblem—the *streams of Reuben*, what are they? Are they not most significant, and disclose a very painful sight to all who can discern the aspects of the present times, and can see how opposite the lesson furnished by the works of the Lord God in his providence is to that which we see exemplified in the practices and pursuits of his intelligent creature, man? How unlike your three *tributary streams*, that gain strength as they wind onward in their course, united in their efforts, and purifying with their waters the many villages, towns, and cities they pass through, until they reach the broad ocean and are lost! Is not the course of the children of this world backward rather than forward? Does not the native earth, whence these several streams are escaping, absorb their every thought?

* This wood-cut represents the armorial shield of the City of Oxford.

Careful about many things, the one thing needful is neglected. "*Yea, for the divisions of Reuben there are great searchings of heart.*" But let us inquire what is the proper use of these *mysterious signs?* Where, in the camp of the Thrice Holy One, was the Ox *stationed?* Did it *not follow* the company that surrounded the ark of the testimony, on whose banner *we trace* the opened roll of *the book* of the covenant of Jehovah? Was it not the *supporting standard of Ephraim?* And what again was the noblest use to which this *typical* animal was appropriated? Surely it was the "*service*" of Israel's Lord. At the greatest and the last of their feasts they offered *seventy* of these animals in token of their devotion to the cause of Him who had blessed them in the fruit of their cattle, the increase of their kine, and the flocks of their sheep. (See Deut. xxviii. 4.) And what were the streams of Reuben typical of? Did not his standard go before the book, and the priests, and the Levites, bearing the ark?—a cleansing and refreshing sight, in a barren and thirsty wilderness—a type of that purifying emblem of our religion, even baptism—a stream flowing from the side of a crucified Redeemer. O, let it not be emblematical of what Reuben was, when God rejected him, and took away his birthright to give it to Ephraim—his priesthood, to bestow it on Levi—his princely dignity, to cause it to rest upon Judah; let it not be used to your confusion, lest, in the day of your visitation, you be found to fall away like water. Go before, and follow after, the ministers of the sanctuary. Let not our Urim and our Thummim be lost in this fearful day of our struggle with party-coloured men—let your University see that you are ready to a man to defend it in its warfare, to assist in its establishment; that your only desire is to see it pure, and clear, and healthful, and that you have no intention to let in the adder-like and disorderly followers of the eagle standard of Dan—but your desire is to see the pure word of God have free course and be glorified amongst us. Oh, then, whether before in the march of intellect, or behind among the plodding and less-educated followers of the middle standard, LOOK TO THE BOOK—a volume to all that love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth, no longer sealed, but opened wide, that he who runs may read, and he who reads may run, "looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of his faith." This, with the blessing of the Lord your God upon it, will keep your hearts in perfect peace. I speak as one that has long known you, as one that would seek the peace of your walls, and the plenteousness of your palaces—my prayer for you is, that you may, if it is possible, escape in the midst of the threatening storm.

I may be looked upon, in the use I now make of these armorial bearings, as carrying my imagination beyond the limits authorized by the word of God; but we must bear in mind that these

emblems are to be found upon the standards of our ancient city and University, and surely they were not put here to be forgotten; doubtless the time was when these things were not merely signs that the passers-by only knew in letter, but they were useful to the stirring up of a proper spirit in their minds.

Next in order comes my younger brethren; and here I feel my utter inability to express what I could desire in their behalf; and if any among them be disposed to question my ability or my right to address them on the subject, I trust they will at least give me credit for being sincere in my intentions and wishes for their welfare. I once was, as you now are, in a very peculiar and critical position in society, surrounded by dangers not less imminent, though the channels are altered. That stage of life, whichever it may be, when we become our own masters, is one of trial to each of us. The warmer and the more affectionate the natural heart may be, so much the greater the peril to which we are exposed when beginning to mix with a deceitful and selfish circle of thoughtless companions. My exhortation to you is this:—Pause, and weigh well what you are doing; take not one, nor indeed many, living men as your leaders. Bring an educated and enlightened intellect to bear upon the complex questions of the present day; take the Articles of your church, its Prayer-Book, comprising its rubric as well as its liturgical services, and examine into their plain and literal meaning. I admit it is no easy task to bring down our high and lofty imaginations to the simplicity of children; but if you would be truly wise, go to the fountain-head at once—the plain and pure word of God; let no other guide be admitted as deserving your implicit reliance, except the Spirit of God, and he will lead you into all truth. Take neither Dr. Pusey, nor Mr. Newman, nor Mr. Maurice, nor any other fallible man, whether of high or low repute among men, upon their word or their testimony; bring your reason, your enlightened understanding, to bear upon all that we bring forward, and use us as travellers do the finger-posts to direct them as they journey to their place of destination. We can, at best, only bring you to the cold stream, and to pass that you must have some better pilot. I know what effect will be produced in many a warm heart upon the perusal of these papers—that my words will eat as doth a canker. The disciples of the school of the Oriel philosophers cannot but writhe under the lash that I am applying to their sides; it is not, it cannot be, for the present, joyous; but may, by the blessing of God upon it, be so in the end. I should be stupidly ignorant of the simplest workings of the human heart, to expect that a few words, or pages, would neutralize at once all the baneful poison that has been for years searching and debilitating the mental and spiritual energies. I am a labourer in the harvest-field, and though I have to wait long, I have no misgivings that

the Lord of the harvest will disappoint me of my reward. When the blessed Saviour, by some revolution in the wheel of his providential government, has led you to a spot where the cold atmosphere of a deceitful world has brought down the throbbing pulsations of your physical or spiritual thermometer, then I trust many of you will admit that my warning was reasonable, was timely, was scriptural. And if I shall be a weak instrument in stopping any one single individual from running headlong into the snare so craftily laid for him, I shall be amply and blissfully rewarded for it, when I meet him before that heavenly tribunal where all controversy shall for ever cease.

I cannot refrain from addressing a few words to those who are engaged along with myself in the same blessed labour of love, and called to minister publicly in the congregation. The hour at which we are called into the vineyard is one of heat and oppressive toil. Let us, then, attend to the essentials, and leave the ornamental portions of the work to others that may come after. My words may sound strange in the ears of many of you; my mode of reasoning, perhaps, still more so; but I have been now for a long season striving to bring a naturally proud and stubborn mind to attend to what the Lord shall say, and to cease from man. My forebodings I dare not disclose even to you, but the same means of obtaining the necessary information is open to us all; they that seek shall find, and the secret of the Lord is with them that fear him, and he will shew them his covenant. O, then, let us not hesitate and be diverted from positive duties. Let us set forth, in all his fulness and sufficiency, the merits and the blessed consequences of our Master's death and resurrection; let us keep the excited minds of our respective charges constantly fixed upon the one thing needful, even the knowledge of him who is the First and the Last, the Alpha and Omega, who is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, even upon Jesus, the Christ of God. If there should be any time for other subjects of a less vital nature, let us depend upon the Lord the Spirit to guide us in our intercourse with them. These questions, these over-nice attentions to forms and ceremonies, useful and edifying in their proper place, only afford materials to the ungodly for their blasphemy, and to the adversary for his joy; let us cease from that way which so many are apparently following,—I mean, an attention to the wishes, and not the wants, of our hearers. Let us leave that puerile and frothy system of theology that has been wafted to our shores across the broad and separating Atlantic, to those who value not the word of their God. If we want any assistance, refreshments, and a stirring-up of our minds by way of remembrance, let us betake ourselves to our own reforming patriarchs, and the unctuous theology of the days gone by; let us not suffer those writings of sound, and glowing, and affectionate piety, to be transported,

as they now are, to the shores of America. Let the candlestick not be removed away from our shores, but let us see that it still send forth a light of undiminished lustre, giving light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death.

As for me, my way is clearly marked out, and the church to which I belong is the only one that will stand the test of this sifting and fiery trial that awaits us. I plant my foot beneath my Saviour's own banner, the banner of love; Philadelphia is its name, brotherly love is its character. I know what is in man; I know what human systems are, and judge not by appearances only, but by righteous judgment, based upon the word of Jehovah. I long to see the time when again it shall be said, "See how these Christians love one another!"—when we can, if we do not work together, work without envying or annoying each other; it is enough to have trouble from those that are without, it is hard to have bickerings, strife, contentions, and fightings, from those that are within also. I am no party man, and hope I never shall be, till I see parties coming over to me. I have stood my ground now for seven years, attacked, allured, flattered, despised, by many a powerful and rising party; but I stand firm to the trust deposited with me; and I own the church established by the law of the land as most nearly resembling the church of brotherly love, as my own church; and when I find a better, and not till then, will I join any of the churches of the separation.

Hear what the blessed Saviour says to, and concerning, the church of Philadelphia:—

"To the angel of the church in Philadelphia write; These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth; I know thy works: behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it: for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name. Behold, I will make them of the synagogue of Satan, (which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie,) behold, I will make them to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee. Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth. Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown. Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is New Jerusalem, whichcometh down out of heaven from my God; and I will write upon him my new name."—Rev. iii. 7—12.

If I be but true to my profession, and am kept faithful to Him that hath promised, I shall see the promise yet fulfilled, for all the churches must give way to this church; even regal Thyatira shall come and worship in humility and brotherly affection, because of the love wherewith Christ hath loved his own peculiar people.

APPENDIX I.

POPERY IN OXFORD.

אִי כָבוֹד Where *is* the glory?—1 Sam. iv. 21.

BY

THE REV. PETER MAURICE, M.A.,

CHAPLAIN OF NEW COLLEGE.

SECOND EDITION, WITH PREFACE AND NOTES.

PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

In publishing a second edition of this pamphlet, which was originally intended only for local and private circulation, I need not say much by way of apology for this Preface, and the notes that accompany it. It is now edited for the public eye, as I have no other way whereby I may more effectually introduce myself to the public as an individual possessing some claims, at least, upon their notice, as taking an active interest in their welfare. It has been a matter of surprise to many how I could have obtained so speedily the information conveyed in the subsequent pages; to this I reply, that a few months previous to this crisis I had received a written list of questions from the Parent Society of our Auxiliary in Oxford for Promoting the Religious Principles of the Reformation, which I had recently returned with the necessary information. My immediate motive for writing it was the distress of mind I endured while listening to the shouts of the motley group of electioneers, accompanying the enthroned Roman-catholic member for the city of Oxford, as they paraded the Broad-street whilst I was sitting at the lodgings of a friend in that memorable street. The step I was about to take being so bold, so hazardous, may serve as a sufficient apology for the hasty manner in which it was brought out, as I dared not pause in the undertaking; and it required, as it was, all the moral courage I was possessed of to persevere in it. I have republished it without any emendation or addition, except by way of notes. And I trust it will appear, from the internal evidence of the work, that no interest of a private or personal nature was consulted, but only the public good. It was entirely my own act and deed, and undertaken at my sole expense and responsibility. My printer's bill amounted to five and twenty pounds, and my whole expenditure could not have been much less than thirty. I had 4,000 copies printed, (3,000 on small, and the rest on large paper;) I got them distributed from house to house in various parts of the town, and also in some of the neighbouring villages; after the gratuitous distribution of so many copies, I could not expect to be remunerated by the sale of the work. I am thankful, however, to have it in my power to add, that I received more than enough to defray all expenses from the *unsolicited* bounty of friends and strangers, who could enter into my views and motives in taking such a step. I cast my care upon the Lord, and he, who had so long cared for me and supported

me, did not fail me nor forsake me then. And I have ever found this straightforward method of proceeding to be the best in the end, even on the low ground of human expediency. With the exception of an anonymous pamphlet, of a most ridiculous description, no other notice was taken of it in Oxford, besides some editorial remarks in the "Oxford University Herald:"—

"To Correspondents.—We are under the necessity, this week, of omitting our observations on two pamphlets relative to Oxford, one of which we alluded to in our last. The other is, 'Popery in Oxford,' by the Rev. Peter Maurice."—Oxford Herald, Jan. 5, 1833.

Editor's remarks, January 12th, 1833:—

"Since our last publication, we have read the small pamphlet, called, 'Popery in Oxford.' From its title, we anticipated that quotations would be interesting to our readers; but the perusal of it convinces us that our anticipation was incorrect. We consider the circumstance of Mr. Stonor having headed Mr. Hughes on the poll as no proof of the spread of the Roman-catholic religion in Oxford or its vicinity; nor can we, upon inquiry, learn that to that faith any converts have recently been made. Many may visit the chapel in St. Clement's from motives of curiosity; and some who have read Mr. Maurice's account of the sermons preached in it will be induced to hear them, although they may contain the doctrines of Armenius. We apprehend that Mr. Maurice has no occasion for believing that the Romish religion is on the increase in this country. Those who were born and educated in the profession of that faith may not be inclined to leave the religion of their ancestors; but we believe that no persons of understanding or education will be seduced from the reformed church by the ridiculous ceremonies of the church of Rome. Never, since the first days of the Reformation, was there a less probability of such conversions taking place—never was priestcraft at a lower ebb."

I shall make no comment upon the editorial criticisms of 1833, but place some extracts from the same journal, of April 1, 1837, in juxtaposition, to shew that Mr. Maurice had some very sufficient "reason for believing that the Romish (i.e., Roman-catholic) religion was on the increase in this country:"—

"PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION.

"We call the attention of protestants to the following proofs of the extraordinary progress of popery of late years, even among ourselves:—In the year 1796 there were in Great Britain but 30 popish chapels. There are now 560! with from 700 to 800 priests. There were in 1796 not more than four seminaries of popish education, on any considerable scale. There are now about 80! with about 20 nunneries.

"On the subject of the general increase of chapels, and of those ignorant and unhappy persons who have abjured protestantism, under the influence of the various motives which popery so well knows how to apply to weak and corrupt minds, we have the boasting of the Romish priests themselves. The Romish bishop at Edinburgh, on lately opening a conventual church, thus said:—'Since the period of the Reformation, there was a time when one solitary catholic priest wandered over the length and breadth of the kingdom. Now your places of worship adorn the land, and are widely scattered over the face of the country. Now you, at noon-day, worship the Almighty with almost the splendor of catholic times and catholic countries. Scarcely now does the year roll over in which several edifices are not reared and dedicated to God, according to the form and faith of the catholic church. You are now assembled, my friends, in the first conventual chapel that has dared to raise its head in this kingdom since the Reformation.'

"In the 'Review,' ostensibly edited by Mr. O'Connell himself, it is declared —'We are much gratified at the aspect which catholicity presents to us at this moment in Great Britain. The number who continue to join themselves to our communion attest the beneficial tendency of the *spirit of inquiry* which marks the religious character of the age!' The spirit of inquiry allowed by popery! the very religion of fetters, which burned men for having the scriptures in their possession; which at this moment anathematizes the distribution of the bible, and which publicly applauds those who burn and bury it. Such is the spirit of popish inquiry, and such must be the miserable ignorance of its proselytes. A recent pamphlet, by a popish priest, trumpets forth the triumph in still louder strains—'He in whose hands are the hearts of princes, who ordains in wisdom, and executes his purpose with a divine sweetness, has broken the fetters which the church had so long worn in those kingdoms; and once more, to Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen, the ancient faith of their ancestors is freely proclaimed. Throughout these islands, our divine religion is making a rapid progress. Churches and chapels, colleges, convents, and schools, are rising up in such numbers and magnificence as to make our enemies quake with fear.' Under such circumstances, have not protestants cause for the most strenuous, united, and pious exertions, against the progress of this dreadful system to power? We say nothing of the supineness, or the slavery, of the government. But, what can be more monstrous, or more alarming, more hostile to the spirit of the constitution, or more insulting to the great religious covenant, to which we have owed all our prosperity, than that popery has actually been suffered to obtain a religious establishment by law in Canada; a religious establishment by law in Australia; that in Ireland it has actually been placed in a degree of power which enables it to engross the chief part of the protestant schools; and that in every part of Great Britain it is now, by this fatal favouritism, proceeding to spread the blindness of its doctrines, the baseness of its disloyalty, and the abominations of its practice, over the land?"—Conservative, No. 8.

I add this pamphlet to the Appendix of my "Popery of Oxford," by way of illustrating my own views of divine truth, derived, as I hope they are, from the plain and literal interpretation of those Articles of the established church to which I have so often subscribed my name. I wish it to accompany the "Popery of Oxford," to shew how similar principles tend to similar results, and that an apathy on the part of the state towards the politics of the Romish apostacy is soon followed up by a departure from the simplicity of a protestant and reformed religion on the part of a professing church. Another reason is, that it will still hold good by way of application, and supersede the necessity of my saying much on that very important branch of my subject.

New College, April 7, 1837.

POPERY IN OXFORD.

The object of this paper is to lay before the public a few facts relative to the state of the Roman-catholic religion, more especially in the city of Oxford and its immediate vicinity.

Amidst the many contrivances by which the subtle enemy of the human soul is constantly diverting men's thoughts from God, it is his wisdom to conceal from their view the operations of the church of Rome, an engine upon which he has exhausted all his energies, and therefore may justly be called, Satan's masterpiece.

In order that none, (in Oxford, at least,) more especially *those of the household of faith*, may be *ignorant of his devices*, this method is resorted to of endeavouring to remove that covering which is spread like a veil over the people.

It may be the Lord will bless the same. It may be that he will open the eyes of those who neither see nor suspect the danger which is impending, that they may cry unto him who is willing to hear and able to save; and that their attention may be directed toward our poor deluded fellow-creatures, who (as far as Oxford is concerned) are left to perish, body and soul, without any effort made to rescue them from their hard taskmaster.

May the spirit of love accompany that which is sent forth in a spirit of prayer,—may the love of God in Christ Jesus dictate, carry abroad, and crown it with success!

FACTS.

1. Romanists are on the increase in Oxford. Whereas a few years back they scarcely amounted to so many scores, they are now multiplied into hundreds.

2. The Roman-catholic population in Oxford and its immediate vicinity averages already five hundred, or possibly more.*

3. Roman catholics may be seen frequenting every church in Oxford, either regularly or occasionally.

To this fact it may be objected, that it bears the appearance of a contradiction, since there exists in the church of Rome a general pro-

* I have made three several efforts to ascertain the present average of the Roman catholic inhabitants of this city, but have failed. A painful curiosity has been my motive; I apprehend that there has been, since I obtained the information herein given, an alarming increase, as well by proselytes as by an influx of strangers.

hibition with respect to entering places where heretics assemble. I grant that it does appear so; but the priest knows too well the interests of his church to impose any severe penance for such conduct; because he finds that it does not lessen, but rather increases his flock; for Roman catholics, by attending protestant places of worship, make the ignorant protestants imagine that there is no great difference between their respective religions.

4. The priest (a Jesuit) is very active in his avocation, though he has the prudence to confine his personal labours in the way of proselytizing to the neighbourhood in which he resides—St. Clement's.

5. The chapel is situate in the centre of the populous parish of St. Clement, which it will soon be necessary to enlarge, or else build a second; it is always well filled, the average number on an unfavourable Lord's day being about 170, on a fine day in summer from 200 to 250, in a word, crowded to an overflow; neither is this to be wondered at, for the style and substance of the discourses delivered there are calculated to produce an indescribable effect upon those who may be seduced to listen to them, if they have no settled religious notions of their own.

6. The *priest's manner* in his public preaching is in the highest degree animated and energetic, with all the semblance of real piety and sincerity; in a word, what carnal men would call methodistical; and, indeed, I fear, were a similar question put to the Romish priest, which was addressed by a Bishop of Rochester to a late celebrated stage-player—" Why do we proclaim the most awful truths without making any impression on the people, while you, by your fictions, attract the greatest sympathy in your hearers?"—we might expect a similar reply: " The reason is this, we speak fiction as if it were truth; you speak truth as if it were fiction." The *substance* of the discourses of the Oxford priest is equally calculated to seduce the unwary, for it is a perfect full-length portrait of *Arminianism*. And I would desire not to be misunderstood as to the meaning of the term; to give a clear definition of it were to attempt an impossibility, since it is only definable by saying that it is a holding of certain grand truths of the gospel, and then denying them. For instance, the doctrine promulgated in the Roman-catholic chapel in Oxford would be most excellent did it hang together; for I was told by a person* who heard a discourse there lately, that the *total corruption of the human heart*, and the absolute necessity of a change by God's Holy Spirit, was insisted on in terms that could scarcely proceed from the lips of the most serious Arminian. Among others, this illustration was employed:—" It would be as unreasonable to go into the grave yard, and expect to see a corpse rising of its own accord, as to see any dead sinner turning in his own strength to God." (We could not wish for a more apt illustration of the 9th and 10th Articles of the Church of England.) Again, the necessity of the merits and blood of Christ was equally strongly and clearly insisted upon; also sanctification by the work of the Holy Ghost, &c. All this was, however, at the conclusion, richly seasoned with the most

* The information I obtained of the discourse here referred to was from the mouth of two competent witnesses.

absurd superstitions, calculated to destroy all that was so clearly and so simply stated in the outset; for instance, (I use his own words as they were repeated to me,) he said, "Whilst your sins may at the present be but a few, only a little will be required of you to atone the eternal justice of God; but if you delay to repent, and go on in your sins, how will you be able to endure, in your old age, severe castigations, long pilgrimages, fastings, penances, yea, abstinence from the most innocent amusements and gratifications," &c.

He preached, at the same time, that ensnaring and specious delusion, so common in these times, *perfection in the flesh*, one of the livid spots of that widely-spreading plague, connected with the human nature of the Son of God.* Strange contradiction, forsooth! to make ourselves holy and perfect we must make him, through whom *every perfect gift cometh down from the Father*, sinful and imperfect!

He denied that chief corner stone of the believer's hope, the *perseverance of the saints*, i.e., *that they who are begotten again to a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, &c., are kept by the power of God, through faith, unto salvation.* (1 Pet. i. 3, 5.)

His compositions are eloquent, partaking of a degree of elegance above mediocrity. He differs, however, from his brethren in his mode of delivering them, for they are not extemporaneous, but written at full length, which circumstance has given rise to a report that they are not his own, being too clever for him; which appears to me to be a groundless charge, for never would Rome send forth a Jesuit of inferior abilities to a place like Oxford. He is looked upon in Oxford as a quiet, harmless man, and such he may appear to those who watch not the stream; smooth water flows deep, and this will be found true upon examination; and when it is known that within the last five or six years, the increase of Romanists in these parts has been in the ratio of fifteen in every twenty. What Rome dreads is anything like controversy, or having her doctrines and practices brought into notice; for thereby her abominations are disclosed.

7. There are emissaries sanctioned and encouraged by him in the work of proselytizing for many miles round Oxford; certain individuals are in the regular habit of periodically visiting the villages around, for the purpose of beguiling the poor unstable cottager to embrace their soul-destroying system: they go amongst them, exercising their different worldly callings as *hawkers*, *tea-dealers*, &c., and are furnished with concise compendiums of controversy, which comprise the most astute syllogisms and ingenious arguments against protestantism. I believe that few protestants are aware of the fact, that it is one of the practices of that wily system, to select the cleverest of the Roman-catholic children, and train them up as home missionaries by means of question and answer on the points of difference between them and protestants.

* How remarkable that Irvingism should have followed upon the heels of that apostate act of 1829, when we threw away our national shield by abandoning our national protest! Ever since that period, the whole protestant world of England has been split into angry parties. This heresy, I am informed, is beginning again to hold up its specious and semi-popish head in Oxford, by the activity of a seceding minister of our own venerable establishment, who has recently joined them.

These missionaries are not in the pay of the church, nor hired by the priest, for it is part of the duty of every zealous Roman catholic to engage, directly or indirectly, in the work of proselytism—upon a stronger motive—on the ground of personal merit, founded upon the perversion of that passage in the apostle James's writings, (chap. v. 20,) "He that converteth the sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins."

8. Another of their devices, whereby they attempt to deceive those who are foolhardy enough to visit their chapels, is the appointing a person at the door to sell their publications, one of which I have obtained a sight of; it is called, *Prayers before and after Mass.* Upon examination, I find that some parts will not bear the scrutiny of a believer's eye, as it is interspersed (though rather sparingly) with divers allusions to the intercessions of saints, &c. It is highly calculated to make an impression upon that class of persons liable to be enticed into their chapels; with the exception of the last, entitled, *The Litany of the Dead*, which must appear awfully blasphemous to any one that has his reasoning powers unimpaired by the beguiling influence of Satan.

9. That this religion is popular in the city of Oxford will be seen by the fact, that a Roman catholic has been returned for parliament with 953 votes, as follows:—

St. Aldate's and All Saints	185	
St. Ebbe	134	
St. Martin's, St. Mary the Virgin, and St. Peter le Bailey	108	
Holywell, St. Michael's, St. John's, and Cowley	106	
St. Peter in the East and St. Clement's	127	
St. Thomas's and Binsey	165	
St. Mary Magdalen	71	
St. Giles's	87	
		953

more than one-third of those whose votes are recorded being in favour of the Romanist member.*

* Extract from a speech of Thomas Stonor, Esq., at a dinner given to him by the tradesmen of Henley, in the Town Hall, the 28th of December, 1832:—"The anxiety shewn by the people of Henley, and the interest they took in his election, demanded of him also his warmest acknowledgments; he had no hesitation in saying, that he felt more gratified in that anxiety than he did in the acclamations that had accompanied him in his triumphant progress through the streets of Oxford. The same cordiality in favour of reform that he had witnessed in Henley, he had also found in Oxford, and with it a liberality that the world gave Oxford little credit for. It was the existence of this liberality that first opened to him the possibility of representing Oxford, and he was happy he had not miscalculated the disposition of that people; and he was proud to say, that, during the whole progress of his election, he had never been assailed by any feeling arising out of religious difference; nay, more, he believed that Oxford had been the only place in England that had not raised a 'no popery' cry, where a catholic candidate had presented himself."—Oxford Herald, Jan. 5, 1833.

The chairman of the committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the proceedings of the Oxford city election, upon the petition of W. Hughes Hughes, Esq., complaining of the undue election of Thomas Stonor, Esq., informed the House that the committee had come to this resolution:—"That the case of treating against the sitting member had been made out, and that his election was therefore void."—March 6th, 1833.

10. That Roman catholicism is looked upon as a harmless thing by some of the members of the University is much to be feared, from the report that is afloat, of the activity of some of them in canvassing for a Roman-catholic candidate. I cannot, however, believe but that the University, as a body, would shudder at the thought of such an imputation. It may, I trust, be traced up to those among her degenerate members, who possess but little of the outward form of godliness, and less either of common decency or common sense. For strangely must the blood of Alma Mater have begun to circulate in the veins of her sons, if her graduate members can stoop to the meanness, nay, to the wanton cruelty, of canvassing among college servants for votes in favour of a Roman-catholic candidate, to legislate for them in a Protestant parliament. It may be true, that vexation at the defeat of a favourite candidate was the cause why many transferred their patronage to a Romanist; but whatever motive influenced such conduct, nothing but infatuation can account for the fact. It will be seen, I fear, when the poll-book comes out (and to the true Protestant it will be a document long to be remembered), that they were not confined to the Roman-catholic inhabitants of St. Clement's, but that among the names there were not a few whom the world looks upon as respectable, and men of personal piety.

Oh, Oxford, Oxford! how art thou fallen, that thy sons and daughters should follow in the train of one, who, if he be true to his creed, (and if a good honest Roman catholic, so much the worse,) is bound to take away from the all-sufficient merits of Jesus of Nazareth, and give the glory to the creature—oh! that so memorable a street as the Broad Street, where Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer sealed their protest by their life's blood, should resound with the shouts of any of thy children, proclaiming the praises of the seed of the murderous enemy, bending their uncovered heads, like idolators in the procession of the host, to the passing mummery. Is Rome so changed, that the free Briton shall not only cease to protest, but give the hand of fellowship to the mother of a slavery both of body and soul?

It is whispered, yea, vaunted, that the Dissenters had a hand in bringing in the Roman catholic.* Will the Dissenting church stand forth, and by a public act of their body (for they boast of their power to exclude from their communion the fornicating and adulterous member) repel the charge of the horrid incestuous union? Will they assert their title to the name of Protestant, and not let it be said out of Oxford, the Dissenting body there is become Infidel? I tremble for the result of the appeal; for what thinking person does not see that our Dissenting brethren *have left their first love;* I speak it in sorrow, not in anger; for once the time was when it might have been said, the Dissenting bodies will rally round the church in danger, and unite to meet the common foe; but now, alas, *another king has arisen that knows not Joseph.* It is an awful spectacle to those who have the spirit of *discerning the signs of the times,* to see Dissent with the Romanist

* I was not aware, till after this pamphlet was in type, that the leading dissenting minister of the town was among the list of those that voted in favour of the Roman-catholic member.

dandled on one arm—the Socinian on the other, mounted on the many-headed war-horse of Infidelity, who, snorting under its burden, will soon unhorse them and trample on all authority and power in these realms. There is a combination, though their motives vary, to dethrone the Lord God, who has been so long the acknowledged ruler of these kingdoms.* Their aim is professedly and openly the established religion of the land—but Christ's reign is the real object of the attack. How blessed then to see, amidst the gloom that is thickening, that the great body of God's elect remnant are to be found in the establishment, and that, amidst all its corruptions in discipline and practice, the Lord has not yet issued forth the command, that his chariot wheels should move away; neither has the awful sentence been heard from his temple, "Arise, let us depart hence." All the bold stands that have of late been made for God's glory, and for man's present and future welfare, have proceeded mainly from members of the established church; but while I say so, I speak it in fear and trembling, for it appears like the sudden blaze bursting from the fire when a portion of the fabric has fallen—it looks like the warning of God's prophets, who were multiplied when the Jewish nation was sentenced for idolatry, and cut off for infidelity; for never at any former period of her history could the church of England count among her ministers a greater number of faithful and diligent servants of the Lord than she may now. As long as *the salt retains its savour*, so long shall the nation escape the threatened danger; but the times, I fear, are not far distant, when it shall be said to the believer, in the language of the Lord of Hosts to Jeremiah (chap. vii. 16), "*Pray not thou for this people, neither lift up cry nor prayer for them, neither make intercession to me, for I will not hear thee.*" Oh it is hard for one that has the best interests of his country at heart, to receive such a message as this.

The good and pious George Herbert (who lived about two centuries ago) foresaw the necessary result of a coalition similar to the one now forming in England:—

> The second temple could not reach the first;
> And the late Reformation never durst
> Compare with ancient times and purer years,
> But, in the Jews and us, deserveth tears.
> Nay, it shall ev'ry year decrease and fade,
> 'Till such a darkness shall the world invade
> At Christ's last coming, as his first did find:
> Yet must their proportions be assign'd
> To these diminishings, as is between
> The spacious world and Jewry to be seen.
> Religion stands on tiptoe in our land,
> Ready to pass to the American strand.
> When height of malice, and prodigious lusts,
> Impudent sinning, witchcrafts, and distrusts,
> The marks of future bane, shall fill our cup
> Unto the brim, and make our measure up;

* Had the writer of this pamphlet been actually present in the houses of Parliament, and listened to its deliberations, or followed the Irish agitator in his march through England, Ireland, and Scotland, he could not have given a more graphic and true description of what has transpired since that time.

When Seine shall swallow Tiber; and the Thames,
By letting in them both, pollute her streams:
When Italy of us shall have her will,
And all her calendar of sins fulfil;
Whereby one may foretel, what sins next year
Shall both in France and England domineer:
Then shall religion to America flee,*
They have their times of gospel, ev'n as we.

Herbert's Church Militant, p. 243.

And what is going forward in Oxford relative to the extension of the kingdom of Christ? Must I, so cold and lukewarm, and too much resembling those I would desire to stir up to be more zealous in the cause of Christ,—must I say nothing is doing in Oxford to counteract the baneful consequences of such things?

1. Shall I say that they who call themselves Protestant Christians, yea, many who aspire to a purer creed and stricter discipline than the reformed church of England, are laying such a stumbling block in the way of the poor deluded Roman catholic, and their own unstable and wavering followers, as to make them imagine that there is no very great difference in their respective creeds; but that now at length the *aged antichristian apostate* church of Rome has become Christian. What does the apostle Paul say (1 Cor. viii. 12), "*When ye sin so against the brethren, and wound their weak conscience, ye sin against Christ.*"

2. What shall I say for the poor Roman catholic? (I cannot but speak with a feeling of love of them individually; though I abhor their system, I must remember that the scripture says, "*Thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian, because thou wast a stranger in his land,*" Deut. xxii. 7.) Shall I say, the Romanist never hears anything to suit his case when he goes to any of the thirteen churches in Oxford?

3. Shall I say, that when a society† is formed in Oxford for the purpose of promoting the religious principles of the reformation, that not one name has sanctioned it among the Protestant citizens of Oxford, who, under God, owe all their own *civil, political,* and *religious liberty,* to that *reformation?*

4. Shall I add, that when a member of the church of England came down, not nine months back, naturally expecting that Protestant Oxford would rejoice to open her pulpits, no brother bid him God speed, and invited him to address the deluded Romanist and a semi-infidel population?

5. Again; Does the University stand forth as a rallying post for sound Christian men, and encourage a society so called for in these days of

* It seems as if the new school of theology in Oxford was anticipating some such retreat for themselves, if we may take as a criterion some lyric specimens in praise of the church planted there, and sundry intimations, in their prose writings, of dissatisfaction with the union of their own church with the state in England.

† The society alluded to is not of a political character, and quite distinct from the Protestant Association, and has had an auxiliary established in Oxford for seven years. It has had very little encouragement from subscribers either in the city or the University. The names on our subscriber's list for this year are six, the amount of the subscriptions being only 4*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*, including one new subscriber of two guineas.

perversion to Romanism? I dare not state facts; it would expose to the gaze of the uncircumcised the nakedness of her I would gladly shield from the insulting foe.

6. Do the doctrines of the reformers resound from that pulpit,* where a cloud of witnesses once preached Christ Jesus without the wisdom of words, but in the glowing love of a godly sincerity? I leave the reply to the consciences of those who occupy the important post. It would do none of us much harm to take up some of the discourses preached in Oxford two centuries ago, yea, later; but such comparisons are invidious.

But certainly if the clear and steady light of Gospel truth, that is reflected in the articles and homilies of the church, does shine forth within the walls of St. Mary, it does not extend its cheering and soul-reviving influence far.

7. The villages around Oxford (with few exceptions) are in a most deplorable state of ignorance and darkness, particularly on that most important subject, the revealed character of the blessed God. I do not here allude to the peasantry only, but to those who are raised above them in rank and station; in short, the great mass of the inhabitants; and this will account for the number of country people that are seen passing and repassing from the Roman-catholic chapel in St. Clement's on every Lord's day morning. This I assert not unadvisedly or hastily, or in reference to a few solitary villages and hamlets; but because I know the fact, and we should *speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen;* and because, likewise, I feel that there is on all sides a rich harvest field for the labours of the devoted followers of the wily Jesuit. The causes I will not touch upon; my object is to state facts.

8. Would that I could say that the state of Oxford, in a religious point of view, presented an encouraging aspect.† Where can I advise the neglected Romanist to go, where he may hear Christ preached, and him crucified, without the wisdom of words or the inventions of man? *The time has come when men will not endure sound doctrine, but after their own lusts heap to themselves teachers having itching ears, and turn away their ears from the truth, and are turned unto fables.* The grand message of the ever-blessed Jehovah is either misstated, or in part suppressed or supplanted by awful heresies and specious delusions; the world scoffing all the while and blaspheming, and, I fear, it may be added, *the Lord's people will have it so.*

There are some peculiar features in the character of the Roman catholic which make him an interesting object to the Christian missionary, because *he holds*, though *in unrighteousness*, many of the grand truths of the gospel;—for instance:

1. *The total depravity of the human heart by nature*, and consequently *the need of a Saviour.* This is seen by their conduct, because they are

* Dr. Hampden's Bampton Lectures were delivered from that pulpit in the spring of the same year in which this pamphlet was written.

† There have been no congregational collections in any of the churches of Oxford in aid of the religious (technically so called) societies of the present day for the last seven years, with the exception of the church missionary, which has had its annual admission into some of the churches since its claims were advocated from the pulpit of St. Peter's in the East, by Dr. Doran, in the spring of 1834.

well known to be ready to submit to any penalty imposed by their priests, either in the way of fine or a bodily exercise, be it ever so absurd and unreasonable. Their consciences are oftentimes so feelingly alive to sin, that they cannot pass through a town without confessing to the priest; (I am here particularly alluding to the Irish Roman catholic.) It is, indeed, much to the interest of the crafty priesthood to keep the laity in this state of mental misery; and miserable, indeed, must they be who are harassed by the gnawings of a conscience alive to the guilt of sin; and at the same time kept studiously in ignorance, that *there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin;* and that *by one offering, he* (the great high priest, Jesus Christ,) *hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.* It is greatly to their interest, I repeat, to keep their followers always mindful that they are sinners, since *thereby no small gain is brought to the craftsman:* I do not mean in the way of paying for absolution, &c., for they do not (as most Protestants imagine) demand any fee for such things; but when the soul is wrought up to that sensitive peception of sin, they can prevail on them to do anything they please; as many beggared and orphan children of wealthy Roman-catholic parents can to their sorrow attest.

With professing Protestants it is not so; the difficulty is, to make them feel they are sinners, and that they need a Saviour, because the conscience is asleep.

2. The Roman catholic holds *justification by faith*, but equally in *unrighteousness;* for it is faith not simply in the merits of Christ, but in the merits of a host of mediators.

3. They hold *sanctification by the holy Spirit*, though they destroy it all by the manner in which they say this sanctification is to be obtained, —viz. by fastings, prayers, tears, penances, castigations, &c.

4. They hold *the doctrine of election*, but it is not God's free, unconditional, irrespective, election and predestination, so clearly and sweetly defined in the articles, and flowing through the different services of the church of England, but an election *of blood—of the will of the flesh—of man*, summed up in a word—admission into their church; out of it, they believe, and confidently assert, *there is no salvation.* By such means poor unstable souls are enticed into her communion.

It would take up too much time to shew all the different particulars in which *they hold* those grand truths in *unrighteousness*, which too many nominal Protestants are totally ignorant of, perhaps deny. I shall, however, make one more remark on the subject, and endeavour to call the public attention to that most remarkable of all the features of the character of the Romanist.

5. The way in which they engage in their religious exercises and devotions. (Oh that some who read this may be taught a lesson by an enemy!)

1. They are scrupulously *observant of the Lord's day;* I mean, however, according to the *prescribed way laid down by their priests*, which will of course vary much. Their sabbath, I believe, is generally over after the celebration of mass, and then the spell is broken; and it may be seen, that their worship has only been in the letter, and not in the power of godliness; it being impossible to infer, from their conversation and general behaviour, that they have been so recently in the presence, or even the house, of the great God. *In their places of*

public worship,* they are most exemplary: no whispering, no hasty turning of the eye towards the door; no curious desire to scan the dresses and deportment of their neighbours; but a steady, serious, devotional demeanour throughout; all which must have a most striking and imposing effect upon a stranger, calculated to make him imagine that what he has heard about the Roman catholic is all false.

2. *They observe*, with equal nicety, *the festivals, holy days, saints' days*, &c., kept by their church; (indeed, in some countries they are celebrated for doing so, while they pass over the Lord's day without any particular notice.) The Roman-catholic master dare not say, "my labourers shall work on any day given out by the priest to be kept holy;" were it even in honour of the vilest wretch under whom the earth ever groaned; neither dare the labourer work for himself on any of those days; while among *Protestants* thousands may be found working, even on the Lord's day; some secretly, some openly, with "*no fear before their eyes.*"

I know as a fact that there are many such cases in Oxford, and no one can walk into some parts of the country without seeing here and there a person working in his garden; he need not take the trouble to peer into the cottages, and witness the baking, brewing, washing, &c., going on within. And did any minister in the Established Church remind his congregation that the Lord's house would be open for divine service on a certain day or days in the week, they would do nothing else, either master or man, (with few exceptions,) but laugh at his simplicity. I of course mean where they call themselves *church of England men.* And what would the world say when deciding on the merits of each church? They would say, "*Rome* is the most sincere and consistent." Aye, it needs much circumspection and consistency to uphold a bad cause!

3. In their *family and social devotions they are equally remarkable.* Here, too, they may, I regret to add, put the nominal Christian to the blush. It will suffice to mention one instance, though it is by no means a solitary one;† I was informed by a person who had a Roman-catholic lady lodging for some length of time in her house, of a fact I can never forget, and which makes my heart bleed for them, knowing, as I do, that they are under such a strong and perilous delusion. This lady was wont regularly, *morning, noon, and night*, to assemble her little family, seven interesting children, and kneel down along with them, their infant hands clasped together, their eyes uplifted in all the earnestness of childlike simplicity, herself in the centre, conducting their devotions. I could not refrain from exclaiming, "O that she was but a believer in Jesus of Nazareth, and was led to put her trust solely in his merits, and not in saints; O that Protestant mothers were all, (or *many* of them,) like this *Roman catholic.*"

* I beg to observe, that I have never set my foot on the threshold of a mass-house; therefore if any statements I may make are not correct, I shall feel thankful to have them rectified, as I have advanced nothing except upon the authority of persons I looked upon as competent to afford the necessary information.

† I received this information from an individual resident in the city of Bangor, in whose house I had myself been lodging in the long vacation of 1826.

In bringing this subject before the public, I cannot dismiss it without a short appeal to those of the Lord's children into whose hands it may please our gracious Father to guide it. I lament deeply that it should fall to the lot of one of so little eminence in the church of Christ, to do that which would not be a light undertaking even in a Wicliff, a Luther, or Latimer, or any other of the bright cloud of witnesses that have sealed their protest by their boiling blood; but it pleases the good Lord *to choose the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; also the weak things of the world to confound the mighty, that no flesh should glory in his presence.* And if the pillars and polished corners of the church are silent when such things are going on in the land, we must expect the very stones to cry out. For God will not, neither has he ever, left himself without witness.

Brethren, partakers of the holy calling, these are times that require peculiar and increased activity. The enemy is coming in like a flood; his roaring is almost audible; and nothing but the prayer of faith will avail to save us in the crisis which is approaching.* The religion of the country is threatened on all sides; and whatever may be said with respect to the establishment, (and the *dispraise* of God's enemies must be looked upon as her praise and glory,) common sense ought to teach us, that when one form of religion has been discarded, either another will be raised up in its room, or else (horrible alternative) the government and nation will become infidel. I fear not the result as regards the safety of Christ's church; for the season of persecution is like a summer to the souls of her children, as they are then thrown more immediately into the arms of the Beloved. But I do dread it as a man, as a subject, as a Briton, for the blow will be an awful one to *old England;* when her crown of beauty shall be despoiled; and she has been as a queen lavishing the riches of her scriptural stores far and wide over the gloomy hills of darkness.

I fear not the Romanist: he has had his day, and a dark and sorry day it was for God's children in these lands.

I fear not Socinianism: she is a cast-off daughter of apostate Rome.

I fear not any single dissenting body; neither do I fear them in the great mass. If what the piety and sound (O what a blessing *a sound mind* is in these days of spiritual intoxication!) principles of such men as the Oxford streets have witnessed carrying their fagot, and dropping their wasting bodies into the devouring flame have handed down to us, will no longer satisfy the free-born inhabitants of England, they will never brook the mildest domination of the purest dissenting body.

But, I confess, I tremble before the triple union of these bodies, because they call in to their aid the deadly engine of infidelity; which not even Romanism, the most experienced of the parties, has wisdom sufficient to work without danger; no power but his *who sitteth above the water flood* can restrain the madness of the people. This, and this alone, will deprive us of our establishment, and set us up to the world as a nation that has turned God out; and then we shall confess in that day, and say, *Are not these evils come upon us, because our God is not among us?*

And what is our duty, we who love the Lord, and love our king, and

* It will be recollected that this was put into the printer's hands in 1832.

love our country? It is a plain one, a simple one; for though the believer's path is narrow, it is not a crooked one.

Two of the above-named parties I cannot address as brethren; to choose between Rome, the mother, and Socinianism, the daughter, would be no easy task; my prayer for them is, that they may be saved, that the Lord will gather his people out from the midst of them.

My dissenting brethren, (at least the spiritual portion of them,) I would exhort, as a brother of Jesus Christ, to hold to the head; and whenever any of their ministers bring before them doctrines not plainly revealed in scripture, to warn them earnestly, and in the spirit of love, of the danger of departing from the narrow path, and *teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.* Simplicity in Christ Jesus is that which is needed to remove the thick veil that is over the people. Though I am under the necessity of bearing my testimony to the corrupt state of the dissenting bodies in England, I believe that there are many of the Lord's hidden ones among them: and that they are sighing and crying for the abominations committed in the land, and for the corruptions that exist in their own respective societies.

My brethren, elders, fathers in the establishment, I would desire to stir up to an increased zeal in the cause of the Lord of hosts. Layman and minister are equally called upon to do the will of our Father which is in heaven; and *his will is, that not one of his little ones should perish.*

Prayer is the appointed privileged weapon of all; and this is a peculiar call for prayer. Oh may the Lord give us the spirit of prayer, that we all may unite to say, "*O Almighty Lord, may it please thee of thy gracious goodness shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect, and hasten thy kingdom, that we, with all those that are departed in the true faith of thy holy name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in thine eternal and everlasting glory.*"

For those among us who are appointed by his Spirit to lay before the rebellious the gospel of reconciliation, I would desire to pray that the Lord may give them the *spirit of power*, and *of love*, and *of a sound mind*, that they may be kept from all subjects of a speculative nature, and "*preach the truth in love*," constantly insisting on those points so clearly defined in the articles they have subscribed to; especially man's utterly lost state by nature (9th article): the bondage of his will to sin (10th article): the full justification of the sinner by faith without works (11th article): the use of good works, and their necessarily accompanying those who are saved by grace, and none others (12th and 13th articles): and lastly, though by no means the least, the blessedness and safety of those that God has chosen as vessels made to honour, to be placed in due time in his heavenly temple, not made with hands: (17th article.)

This is our office, our privilege; as is more fully expressed in the service of Ordination: "*Ye are called to teach and to premonish, to feed and provide for the Lord's family; to seek for Christ's sheep that are dispersed abroad, and for his children who are in the midst of this naughty world, that they may be saved through Christ for ever.*"

New College, Oxford, Dec. 24, 1832.

APPENDIX II.

THE TRUE CAUSES OF THE CONTEMPT OF CHRISTIAN MINISTERS.

A SERMON,

PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

AT ST. MARY'S CHURCH,

ON NOVEMBER 30, 1718.

BY PETER MAURICE, A.M.,

FELLOW OF JESUS COLLEGE, OXON.

WITH A PREFACE IN VINDICATION OF IT, AGAINST THE CENSURE PASSED UPON IT IN THE UNIVERSITY.

REPRINTED FROM AN ORIGINAL COPY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

PREFACE.

It is, indeed, a common, but no unjust apology, for publishing an innocent sermon, that when it was composed, the author had no design of its proceeding beyond the pulpit; nor was under any apprehension of being obliged to print it in his own defence. My submitting the following discourse to a public examination, will, I hope, at least be thought pardonable by the reader, when I assure him, that nothing but the greatest necessity could have extorted it from me, after so many exact and comprehensive pieces of this nature, which would have rendered mine entirely needless had it been ever so perfect.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor's demanding my notes after preaching; his proceeding against me in a judicial way; and, after requiring of me a very extraordinary recantation,* which I could neither in honour or conscience submit to, his inflicting upon me a seeming punishment, † (not to mention those indecent, and even unchristian reflections, both upon the sermon, and myself, which some men, not proper judges of either, have been too prodigal of, even in the same pulpit from which I pronounced this discourse;) all this, I say, will sufficiently justify me in thus endeavouring to vindicate myself, though I should thereby forfeit all future pretensions to what I never yet aimed at, the character of an accurate writer.

I could have wished my reverend judges, instead of that oral conference they favoured me with, had given me their objections in writing; for then I could have been satisfied that they were unanimous in what was objected; and would have endeavoured to have given a distinct answer to each article.

But, since I cannot persuade myself that everything then mentioned was approved of by all of that venerable assembly, the reader will be contented with only seeing distinguished,‡ in the sermon, the several

* The form of recantation was this—" Whereas, I, Peter Maurice, Master of Arts, and Fellow of Jesus College, in Oxford, did, imprudently and inconsiderately, by several passages and expressions, disagreeable to the received doctrine and discipline of the church of England, in a sermon, preached by me, at St. Mary's church, on the 30th day of November last, before the University of Oxford, give just cause of offence to the audience: I do hereby acknowledge my hearty sorrow for the same; and, in the presence of this assembly, humbly ask pardon, for the great indiscretion I was then guilty of; and promise, for the future, never to offend in the like manner. And as a farther testimony of my sincerity herein, I do hereby declare my unfeigned assent and consent to the Thirty-nine Articles agreed upon in convocation, 1562, and likewise to the three articles contained in the Thirty-sixth Canon. And this my submission I humbly beg may be accepted. In witness hereof I have hereunto put my hand, this 17th day of December, An. Dom. 1718."

† The punishment inflicted was, a prohibition from ever preaching within the precincts of the University for the future; till I had submitted to the abovesaid recantation.

‡ By inverted commas.

particulars which were objected against; the main one only (in condemning which all agreed) excepted. This I think myself obliged here to enlarge upon. It is a passage (page 3 of the sermon) concerning the efficacy of the administration of evil ministers, in which it was unanimously determined, that I had contradicted the Twenty-sixth Article.

That article asserts these four things:—

1. "That ministers act, not in their own name, but in Christ's; and minister by his commission and authority.
2. "That, therefore, though they are evil men, we may use their ministry, in hearing the word and receiving the sacraments.
3. "That the effect of Christ's ordinances is not taken away by the wickedness of the ministers, nor the grace of God's gifts diminished, from such as by faith, and rightly, do receive the sacraments.
4. "That the sacraments are effectual, although ministered by evil men, because of Christ's institution and promise."

I do not conceive that I have contradicted either of these propositions.

1. The commission of ministers I have nowhere contradicted. I allow that, as civil governors are rightly said to govern by the commission and authority of God, and in his name; because it is the will of God that there should be such governors; though the immediate authority is from the society they govern; so ecclesiastical ministers may, in the same manner, be said to act in Christ's name, and to minister by his commission and authority, because it is his will that there should be such ministers, though the immediate commission be from the church in which they minister. I have nowhere, in my sermon, denied such a commission; and before my judges I expressly asserted it.

2. I have nowhere said, that we may not use the ministry of evil ministers, in hearing the word and receiving the sacraments; but the contrary. I allow that we may, for the very same reason which this and other articles assign—viz., "Because they act by commission" (Art. xxvi.), "and are lawfully called by those who have public authority given them in the congregation to call ministers." (Art. xxiii.)

We may, indeed we must, use their ministry, as long as they are openly and legally convict. But take pleasure in it, or be easy under it, we cannot. It must damp and cool our public devotions. We cannot perform them with so great abstraction of thought, and command of our passions and resentments, as not to be disturbed with reflecting on the unworthiness of the person in whose administrations we join, and on the dishonour done by him to our most holy religion, and the scandal his behaviour brings upon his office. We cannot, with so much attention and affection, hear the word of God preached by one who is continually acting in contradiction to it; nor with so great delight and satisfaction, commemorate our Lord's death, in his appointment, when administered by one whom we every day see crucifying our Lord afresh. This, I believe, every one will own, who is not very firmly indeed attached to the all-sufficiency of a Christian priesthood. Though, therefore, in obedience to authority, and to

avoid confusion, we use, for a time, the ministry of such an one, yet, it is only till we can procure that, being legally convict, he may, by just judgment, be deposed, as the article directs.

3, 4. That the effect of Christ's ordinances is not taken away by the wickedness of ecclesiastical ministers, I am so far from having denied, that I have expressly affirmed it: and, in direct confirmation of the article asserted, with the very same limitation the article does, that they are effectual to all good men; to all who receive them with proper dispositions;—i. e., in the words of the article, "rightly, and by faith."

The article declares them to be effectual, "because of Christ's institution and promise." I maintain the same. Christ instituted the sacraments, one for a form of owning allegiance to him, and becoming a member of his church: the other for a memorial of his death. And to those who, with good dispositions, rightly, and by faith, partake of either, he has promised his grace and favour, which he will certainly confer on all who do so partake, according to his promise.

In what, then, have I contradicted this article, every part of which I allow and maintain? To make it clear, beyond all contradiction, that I do so, I will compare with the propositions in the article, each of the propositions in the passage of my sermon which gave so great offence.

They are—

1. "That the administration of an evil minister, as to any benefit purely arising from his administration, is no better than the sacrifice of a fool. Yet,
2. "That the devotions and services of good men, who make use of the ministry of such, are acceptable to God, and beneficial to them. But,
3. "That the efficacy depends on themselves, and not on him. For,
4. "He has no juster a claim to a commission from Christ than he could have had under the Mosaic dispensation to have been of the tribe of Levi without being an Israelite."

Each of these propositions I think consistent with the article. And,

1. "That the administration of an evil minister, as to any benefit purely arising from his administration, is no better than the sacrifice of a fool."

The article does not contradict this. That says, "that the sacraments, though administered by evil men, are effectual; because of the institution and promise of Christ;" thereby declaring the benefit, to those who receive rightly, and with faith, to arise from Christ's institution and promise, not purely from the administration of the minister. This, therefore, not being inserted in the article, I may deny without contradicting the article. That, by denying this, I did not mean to deny the acceptableness of the services of good men, though they made use of the ministry of evil ministers, most evidently appears, from my asserting in the words immediately following. And that the one may really be denied without consequently denying the other, appears thus:—

In the services of good men, making use of the ministry of evil

ministers, there are two things considered; the administration of the minister, and the concurrence of the receiver. The first is, indeed, necessary, for order and decency's sake; but the services being acceptable to God, or beneficial to the receiver, depends not at all upon this, but entirely upon the other. This, therefore, may be an abomination to the Lord, (as the way of the wicked, and the administration of all evil men certainly are;) and yet the service be acceptable to God, and beneficial to the receiver: as, on the other hand, the administration of an upright minister may be God's delight; and yet the service performed be of no benefit to the receiver, for want of uprightness in himself. These two things, therefore, appear to be entirely distinct. The act of the minister may be an abomination, and yet the service of the receiver effectual; the act of the minister may be well-pleasing, and yet the service ineffectual. Therefore, I may deny, that any benefit purely arises from the administration of evil ministers, without denying that the services of good men, who make use of their ministry, are ineffectual.

2. The next proposition is directly the same with what the article asserts—viz., "That the services of good men, who make use of the ministry of evil ministers, are, notwithstanding, acceptable to God, and beneficial to them."

3. I assert, "That this efficacy depends on themselves, and not on the evil minister."

The article has not asserted, that it does depend on the minister; and therefore in denying that it does, I do not contradict that article. The article expressly limits this efficacy to those who receive rightly, and with faith; and I limited it, in the same manner, to those who are good men. The article asserts, "that this efficacy arises from the institution and promise of Christ;" and I, in effect, assert the same, when I say it depends on the receivers themselves. By which I mean, that it depends on their performing the conditions upon which the effect is promised by Christ; which, if they do perform, then the effect follows in virtue of that promise.

4. I assert, "That an evil minister has no juster claim to a commission from Christ than he could have had under the Mosaic dispensation to have been of the tribe of Levi, without being an Israelite."

I own, at first view, this sentence may appear, to those who attend more to the sound than to the sense of words, to contradict the first proposition of the article,—viz., "That ministers (the evil as well as good) act in Christ's name, and minister by his commission and authority."

And supposing that I had, indeed, unwarily contradicted the article in these words, yet it could be no sufficient reason to exact such a recantation of me as I was required to make. Supposing that, in one little piece of a sentence, I had, without designing it, said what could not be reconciled to the article; must I therefore recant? "Whereas, I, P. M., &c.—did, imprudently and inconsiderately, by several passages and expressions, disagreeable to the received doctrine and discipline of the church of England, &c., give just cause of offence.——"

Besides this small clause, now under consideration, there is not one

word in the sermon that has the appearance of contradicting an article; and how one quarter of a sentence can be several passages and expressions I cannot understand.

Why, therefore, might it not have been sufficient to have required of me to declare, that by this expression I did not design to contradict the article, or deny evil ministers a commission of any sort, but only of one sort? This, though not required, I declared to my judges. And if this was not satisfactory, at most it might sure have been sufficient to require me to have subscribed that, "Whereas, in one proposition of an incorrect period, I had undesignedly contradicted the article, (so undesignedly, that in the same sentence I professed that I did not intend to contradict, nor understood that I had contradicted it,) I did, therefore, give up that proposition, and own the truth of the article in opposition to it." This, I say, might sure at most have been enough to require of me, and is more than I could have complied with. For, in earnest, I have not even in this proposition contradicted the article.

If, indeed, it be interpreted that these words of mine—"An evil minister has no just claim to a commission from Christ"—must mean that he has no claim to a commission of any sort; then, I own, I contradict the article. But any candid hearer might easily suppose (and some did so) that this was not my meaning; that, as nobody else does, so neither did I deny the clergy a commission of any sort, but only a commission of one sort, which has been too often claimed, but never proved.

The commission too many of the clergy claim is, to be Christ's vicegerents, and a sort of mediators between him and his people; to have powers very distinct from those with which they are invested by the appointment of the church; a character which gives them a peculiar and indefeasible right to pray for, bless, and authoritatively absolve, Christians: and it is evidently absurd to suppose that I denied any other commission but this, which implies in it such an unreasonable power as I was preaching against. Such a commission I own I have denied; and ever will deny, till I am convinced by some better and more solid argument than an authoritative censure.

What sort of commission the article intended to ascribe the clergy may, perhaps, be learned from another article, (the twenty-third,) which says:—"Those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard." Here is nothing described extraordinary, nothing more than human, nothing mysterious in this commission, no invisible spiritual powers either required or conferred.

I have already stated the case, as it really is, which I shall here repeat.

Because it is the will and command of Christ that there should be a ministry, and the church has authority from Christ to appoint its own ministers; because the business of those ministers is, to be the mouths of the congregations, in offering up, according to the directions of Christ, their prayers and praises, through his mediation, to the glory of God the Father; therefore, they are said to act in his

name, and by his commission and authority. Just as the civil magistrate is said to be the ordinance of God, though it be now generally agreed, that he receives his authority by human compact, which limits and directs it.

But, supposing that besides this commission, which I allow, there were any other supernatural and mysterious commission, which I deny, it would sure be necessary that, to have such a commission from Christ, a man should at least himself believe in Christ. If so, then I had reason to say of some ministers, "that they have no juster a claim to a commission from Christ than they could have had under the Mosaic dispensation to have been of the tribe of Levi, without being Israelites."

Suppose a man, not an Israelite, by forging a genealogy, had got himself into one of the priest's offices; would it be any offence to say, such a man had no just claim to a commission from God, when he came in against the express command of God? No, surely; nor can I think that a man, not an Israelite, indeed, not a Christian, but an enemy to Christ, could have any juster claim to such a commission as I have denied the clergy have any pretence to, if there were any such commission at all.

I trust, that, in the opinion of all impartial judges, I shall now be acquitted of having contradicted this article, on pretence of having done which I have been censured. I appeal to the world, and am content to stand or fall by the strength or weakness of the defence I have now made.

I must take this opportunity (before I conclude) of returning my thanks to Mr. Vice-Chancellor, for his genteel behaviour to me, before, at, and after passing sentence upon me. His high office in the university was far from betraying him into oppression or insolence. In short, he demeaned himself with all the condescension and civility that could be consistent with his making use of that authority, granted him by statute, of determining truth and falsehood. Though I must add, that the method prescribed by that statute, how happy soever we may think ourselves in being of the same opinion with our forefathers, is no certain way of coming to the knowledge of the truth. Nor can I think it any compliment paid the established church of England, when doctrine is tried and condemned by a seeming opposition to one of its articles, without so much as endeavouring to prove it disagreeable to the holy scriptures, the law of Christ, the universal rule of Christians. The Reverend Doctor Baron, Master of Baliol College, would think himself too much neglected, if I should not upon this occasion mention his great zeal, and, I doubt not, real concern for the church of England. He was so sensibly touched with the danger he found her in, that he laboured more abundantly than they, in discovering and reproving every evil design against her. Besides the grand positions of horrid intent, which at first view shocked him, he proceeded farther—not to shew the fineness of his taste in the propriety of language, but to lessen the credit of my composition—to charge it with light expressions; and being desired to specify, he instanced in this—"The sacrifice of a fool."

This it is, now, to depend upon authority. I had read that expres-

sion in Eccles. v. 1; and Solomon had been represented to me as a man of the best parts, and the purest style, of the age he lived in. This character of him misled me to make use of that light expression; which I likewise unhappily applied on as grave an occasion as Solomon did. But, notwithstanding this ill success, how little soever I may regard the authority of weak, passionate, sinful, (I had almost said, in the exceptionable words of my sermon,) unassisted, uninspired men, like myself; I will always pay a due veneration and deference to the decision of those who produce good testimony that they have the Spirit of God.

And, as for dependence upon authority in general, wherever I have disclaimed it in the following sermon, I would be understood to mean such a dependence as is inconsistent with that which is due to Christ Jesus, the only absolute Sovereign over Christians. And such a dependence, I may venture to say, those who have so freely censured me would not be thought to vindicate.

It may be, perhaps, expected, that I should on this occasion say something concerning the general discouragement of the principles I have endeavoured to defend in this place. But it is my design to defend myself, not to accuse others. However, I must take the liberty here to satisfy the world, as I have already satisfied myself, by a long and intimate acquaintance, that there are still some in the University who have sense, and learning, and courage enough, to vindicate that liberty wherewith Christ our Saviour, our first reformers, and their own birthright, have made them free; whose opinions are founded upon the unmoveable rock of reason and scripture only; and their behaviour, as far as I can judge, upon the corner-stone of integrity. And let the winds of calumny, and the floods of discouragement, exert their utmost; I am persuaded they will not fall; these powers of hell will never be able to prevail against them.

A SERMON,

ETC.

TITUS, ii. 15—"*Let no man despise thee.*"

OF all the temporal evils that mankind are generally subject to, and which they with so much care and industry endeavour to avoid, there is none that touches so deeply, none that affects the soul with so quick and dreadful apprehensions, as disrespect and contempt. Even poverty itself, unless it proceed to those deplorable extremities of hunger or nakedness, hath very little in it that will raise our horror, or make us very solicitous to fence against it, except that it renders men rejected and despised by those to whom they are naturally equal. A desire of personal honour and esteem is so firmly rooted in our constitution, that nothing seems too hazardous to be attempted, or too painful to be undergone, in its defence. Life itself, the essence of our natural being, is often made its sacrifice, and death cheerfully

embraced as a less evil than the loss of it. So that there would have been no occasion for the apostle's caution to Titus, "Let no man despise thee," which every man has a natural aversion to, much less, at present, for any laborious enlargement to recommend it; but because the true means to honour and respect are not so duly made use of, nor the evil consequences of being despised, with regard to others, so frequently considered as they ought to be. For contempt is not only miserable to the subject of it, but likewise, for the most part, incapacitates him for an effectual performance of those duties to his fellow creatures which, perhaps, his natural qualifications enable him, and his proper station in the world require him, to execute. As this observation is universally true, so the design of the text, and the great number here present, more immediately concerned in it, will easily justify me in applying it more particularly to those who are set apart to administer about holy things. It was, therefore, upon good reason, that our circumspect apostle, who was so intent upon the furtherance of the gospel, subjoined this piece of advice to his other directions, as well knowing that Titus' utmost endeavour to propagate Christianity, or to enforce the precepts of it upon those who had already received it, would have been ineffectual; that his most zealous speaking, exhorting, and rebuking, would have been without authority, if, by any false management, either himself or his office should become contemptible. Though the great extensiveness and difficulty of Titus' commission, and that circumstance of introducing, as it were, a new religion, must lay him under the greater necessity of being vigilant and careful, yet the same cause will at all times, and in all places, produce the same effect. And because it is, in fact, evident that those, who are at present set apart as labourers in the Christian vineyard, are sometimes made the objects of derision, because, likewise, the office itself is too often traduced and vilified, it will not be improper, however ungrateful, to inquire into some probable causes of both, so far as they relate to ourselves, and the evil consequences of them, as they relate to those who are committed to our charge.

The words I have chosen will not authorize me to take notice of those other extrinsic causes which depend upon the ignorance, the prejudice, or the enmity, of other men. For, whatever commands St. Paul in other places may have laid upon the new converts to pay all due respect and veneration to their instructors in the faith, yet these words being directed to Titus only, do evidently imply, that his being despised, or not despised, either to the hindrance or furtherance of the gospel, lay chiefly in his own power. And, therefore, if he had that regard for his Saviour and his religion, as St. Paul thought he had, he should so behave himself in his private personal conduct, and the execution of the commission he was entrusted with, as to give no just occasion to the adversary to speak reproachfully of the one, nor any probable temptation to his fellow Christians to think meanly of the other. "Now though I cannot be so bold as to affirm (and that for a good reason—viz., because I am not able to prove,) that the commission, by which we at present act, is equal to that of Titus, either in its power or the certainty of its being delegated by the

holy Spirit," yet, since whatsoever power we have, and by what authority soever delegated, it bears a great analogy to the other, with regard to its design, the salvation of mankind, I shall beg leave, with all humility, to recommend to my fellow servants in Christ Jesus, the same advice, reduced to some particulars, which both reason and experience too well inform us, are very materially concerned in it, This I shall do—

I. With regard to our own personal conduct;
II. With regard to the office of the ministry itself.

I. With regard to our own personal conduct. He that would procure or continue to himself a good esteem, in order to promote the Christian dispensation, must take care that his own life be in some degree answerable to the rules and precepts of it. Those that honour the Lord, he will honour in the eyes of mankind; but those that despise him, by despising that purity of life which is most agreeabi to him, will of course be lightly esteemed. How little a share of honour must that man expect, upon the account of his ministry, who in his own case, to the utmost of his power, subverts the end of it? Such a one may, indeed, be able to talk accurately upon vice and virtue; to represent in the liveliest colours the monstrous deformity of the one, and the beauty and loveliness of the other. It may, perhaps, be easy to him to enforce the precepts of the gospel with the strongest motives, dressed in the nicest strains of rhetoric; but, after all, it will not be easy for him to persuade his auditors that he is in earnest when he does so. They are often induced to believe, that there must be some obscure fallacy in all his arguments, how plausible soever they appear, since they have so little effect upon him who might be supposed the most capable of knowing the design, and judging the force of them. Hence the ignorant and unlearned are apt to wrest such an example to their own destruction, by concluding religion in general to be a politic, profitable trade; and Christianity, the refiner and enforcer of natural religion, to be but a more specious and cunning contrivance to keep the inferior part of mankind under a slavish subjection—a conclusion false indeed!—and so much the falser, because drawn from premises which have no relation to it. The truth or falsehood of any general proposition cannot depend upon a particular man's practice; but, however, since we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, which testify the frequency of it, we have, I think, abundant reason, besides those motives that are common to us with other Christians, to avoid, not only the practice, but even the suspicion, of an immoral life. For our carelessness, as well as our express disobedience, will one day be accounted for, before the great Creator and Redeemer, and therefore lover of souls. Even wiser and better men, men who can distinguish between substance and circumstance, and are blest with a true sense of real religion, are often cooled in their exercises of devotion and any other acts of piety, when they are administered by one who walketh disorderly. "They cannot but think, and I cannot but join with them, that the administration of such an one, as to any benefit arising to his congregation, purely from his administration, is no better

than the sacrifice of a fool.* I would not be here misconstrued; as if I did (for I am sure I do not) contradict† that article of our church about evil ministers. For the services of good men will, doubtless, be acceptable to God, and therefore beneficial to them, by whose mouth soever offered. But that efficacy depends upon themselves, and not upon him who, if he does not live as becometh the gospel of Christ, has no juster a claim to a commission from Christ than he could have had under the Mosaic dispensation to have been of the tribe of Levi, without being an Israelite." But—

1. To be more particular: The man of God, who is desirous of that honour that will most probably tend to the glory of God and the service of his fellow Christians, must be very fearful of setting his heart too much upon the things of this world. He, above all men, must avoid making those things the great concern and labour of his life, which were designed only as a viaticum to support him under the burden of it. I would not, by any means, be supposed to recommend him an austere, recluse, monastic method of living; that is, indeed, an extreme on the other side, which must render him altogether incapable of performing any positive duty to others, either as men or Christians. The most perfect man upon earth may, without doubt, consistently enough with that perfection, enjoy those necessaries, conveniences, and sometimes a moderate part of those pleasures which this, for the most part, troublesome world, affords him. A traveller into a far country, upon business of never so great importance, may, upon his journey, entertain himself with delightful prospects, curious antiquities, and the almost miracles of heart, in order to lessen the fatigues of it; but he must not deviate from the direct road any farther, nor fix his thoughts upon these entertainments any deeper, than will be consistent with the attainment of his ultimate end. The great end of our labours, with regard to ourselves, ought to be, eternal happiness. "The end of our commission (be it human or divine) is the assistance of others in the prosecution of it." This, then, ought to be the general aim of all our endeavours, and from which neither riches nor poverty, neither pain nor pleasure, neither over-carefulness nor indolence, should ever totally divert us. Thus will our behaviour be consonant with our office, and consequently be had in admiration by others, proportionable to that advantage they must necessarily reap from it, whereas, the contrary will render us, and that deservedly too, the contempt of men, and the off-scouring of all things.

2. He that would be well esteemed of by his Christian brethren, must not have too great an esteem of himself; he must not think more highly of himself than he ought to think, but think soberly of those qualifications and perfections he is endowed with, whether natural or acquired, as if they were designed, as really they are, for the benefit of mankind, and not the embellishment of his own person. Whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased, and he that humbleth himself will certainly be exalted. Our Saviour hath told us, and enforced it by his own example, that the true way for a man to be

* Eccles. v. 1. † Art. xxvi.

chief and greatest among Christians is, to behave himself as if he were the servant of all; even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. Such a man's humility will procure him that true useful honour that cometh from God only; not only that honour which will make him happy hereafter, but likewise that which, even in this world, will encircle him in such a transcendent brightness as shall reflect happiness on all around him.

I might here mention several other particulars, which relate immediately to the contempt of our own persons; but things of this nature being too obvious not to be thought of, and the designed length of this discourse not permitting any more on this head, I shall proceed—

II. To consider the office of the ministry itself. For though a general deprivation in the things abovementioned is too often, by evil-minded men, transferred from persons to the office, yet there is one thing which, in its own nature, tends to lessen the dignity of it, wickedly, however successfully sometimes, made use of to support a false grandeur. And that is, the claiming and ascribing to it more authority and power than really and justly belongs to it. In a learned and a thinking age, and especially in a country where liberty is truly valued, men cannot long be imposed upon by sophistical arguments and unintelligible distinctions: "To continue under the dominion of usurping, tyrannical masters." And therefore, if not out of justice to mankind, yet in prudence to ourselves, and for the honour of our religion and ministry, let us take the first decent opportunity of letting drop those little arts that have indeed formerly prevailed, but are now no longer like to do so, lest, after all our endeavours and success in discovering and ridiculing the schemes of those religious politicians at Rome, we should ourselves be found guilty of continuing upon men's shoulders those heavy burdens which our fathers were not able to bear, and which the great Author of Christianity never designed they should, whose yoke was originally easy, and whose burden light.

The first thing I shall mention, because I think the first which was introduced into the Christian church, and was the groundwork of all the corruptions in it, is the assuming an absolute power of limiting the general words of scripture, and of dictating and determining for other men's understandings, according to such limitations;—as if we were always sure of being in the right, and they had nothing else to do but to believe that we were so. Even in the early ages of Christianity, such is the pride of vain man, the path that leadeth unto life, and which is left open by our Saviour for all that sincerely seek to find it, began to be restrained within the narrow bounds of human fancy. The plain truths of the gospel, and the study of a holy life, were too much below the wisdom of this world, and therefore the more refined speculations of busy men, sometimes about words only, generally about things of no importance, at best but uncertain philosophical deductions, which every one had not depth to arrive at, were required as necessary conditions of being members of Christ's body. And these were supported very seldom with arguments, much seldomer with that coolness and good nature which became the disciples

of Jesus, but by definitive sentences, and those invisible engines of anathema and excommunication which indeed, I believe, were entirely harmless, except they recoiled upon the engineers. At length, the church of Rome, by the help of their temporal possessions, and their interest in deluded princes, carried their usurpation to that degree of insolence and blasphemy, that their chair was the fountain of truth, the centre of unity, and the only staple for salvation. Which trade they improved to great advantage for many centuries, till at last, failing in their credit, they became almost bankrupt, and thereby a hissing and a reproach among all those nations of the earth, who had courage enough to be wise for themselves.

Thus much, however, must be said in honour of those schematists, that they acted consistently enough with themselves. They claimed an absolute power in religion, and they proved their title to it by that excellent medium, infallibility. On the other side (for we must not be partial), some of the reformed churches soon took upon them a legislative authority of the same nature in controversies of faith, without so much as pretending to that only thing that could qualify them for it. The others were always in the right, because they could not be in the wrong. We modestly own we may be in the wrong, but we are always sure we are in the right,—so very sure, that a man that prefers the safety of his person to truth will scarce venture to dispute it. Woe unto the world because of these offences; it must needs be that offences come, but woe unto them by whom they come; it had been better for them, and the whole Christian church, that they had never professed themselves members of it, than that they should thus exalt themselves to prescribe laws to the servants of another master. One is our master, even Christ, and all we are brethren. From whence came all the schisms and dissensions, all the wars and fightings, in the Christian church? Came they not hence? Even from that itching lust of imposing upon each other new terms of salvation, and putting them upon a level with the express laws of Christ, under the same sanctions, eternal happiness or misery? What from hence could be expected, but what in reality has always happened—disorder and confusion in all the churches of the saints? May such doctrines, and the principles from whence they spring, become the butt of contempt, and the objects of witticism, till they be totally exploded, and banished from a free and a thinking people, and confined to those more proper regions where a passive, lethargic understanding is the best soil for religion, and ignorance, the mother of devotion. But—

2. Because a bare uniformity, in opinion or worship, is not of itself sufficient for salvation, but a good life is likewise required; and because, by often transgressing the rules of the gospel, all men stand in need of forgiveness: "there has been transmitted to us, by our zealous predecessors (by whom delivered to them I know not,) a power of remitting or retaining sins." A very useful and advantageous power, where men of bad lives and resigned understandings can be persuaded to think it effectual. "I need not go so far off as the church of Rome to fix the imputation." I could wish that we ourselves were wholly free from it; for, however some men when

pressed hard by truth are forced sometimes to distinguish away their own arguments, yet it is too evident they pretend to such a power, not only from their frequent though vain exercise of it, but especially from their endeavouring to defend it from such a text, as, if it proves anything of this nature, must prove as absolute and unlimited a power as ever the pope himself aspired at. "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted." This is an universal proposition, as applied to the apostles, without any limitation, the will of God, in any particular, not expressly excepted; the condition of the offender no ways considered, but left entirely to the conduct of the apostles, and that extraordinary knowledge and power they should receive from the spirit of truth. "This large commission, but in a more sacred sense, do men, unassisted, uninspired, appropriate to themselves." And though, perhaps enemies to God by their wicked works, pretending, as it were, to be God's privy-counsellors, can pronounce an emphatical "I absolve!" without producing any credentials, or having anything to trust to, but that broken reed, an uninterrupted succession. I say, a succession to this power, of remitting or retaining sins, is now claimed in a more sacred sense than was originally meant by them. For, if we compare the words abovementioned with the practice of our Saviour, we shall find that they have no relation at all to eternal happiness; but only to the releasing men from that temporal punishment of those sins for which that punishment was inflicted. And that our blessed Saviour's words to the paralytic—"Thy sins are forgiven thee," (Luke v. 20,) are to be understood in this latter sense only, I think is manifest from two remarkable parts of the story. For, first, the motive to this forgiveness was the faith of the man's friends, who were so industrious as to let him down through the tiling, to present him before Jesus; and when he saw their faith, that is, the faith of those who let down the sick of the palsy, he said unto him, "Man, thy sins are forgiven thee." Now, I hope few are so sanguine as to hope for eternal forgiveness from the merit of other men's faith, which must be the case if our Saviour's words are to be taken literally.

And, again, when the Scribes and Pharisees began to reason about the harshness and blasphemy of the expression, the only proof he gave them that the Son of Man had power upon earth to forgive sins, was, his saying to the sick of the palsy, "I say unto thee, arise, and take up thy couch, and go into thine house;" which accordingly the man did. Now this could be no argument at all to them of the man's being qualified for the kingdom of Heaven; but it was a certain and satisfactory argument that he was healed of that infirmity under which his sins had bound him. And if we will allow our blessed Saviour to talk properly, it is evident, from his own comparison, that if he had said only, "Rise up, and walk," he had comprehended the whole force of—"thy sins are forgiven thee."

In short, the conditions of salvation required by God are, faith, repentance, and charity; without these human absolution can do no good; and with these human excommunication can do no harm. He has, doubtless, given a commission to all his ministers to publish the terms of salvation as contained in the gospel; and to all Christians to teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother; and to

recommend the particular application of them. But let not weak, ignorant, sinful man, exalt himself above all that is called God, by aspiring to an authority "which the Son of God himself never exercised while upon earth." Let him not say, "Thus saith the Lord;" when, perhaps, the Lord hath not spoken; nor, by the help of that scholastic term, absolution, apply to particular persons, in the name of God, an absolute forgiveness of all their sins; when God only knoweth the heart and trieth the reins. The usurping such a prerogative above his brethren is often, to weak men, a stumbling block; always, to wise men, foolishness. But—

3. Since the vain terrors of human excommunication have not been sufficient to convince men's judgments, or to answer all those ends which men, whose only godliness was gain, proposed to themselves, they have been forced, for the establishment of what they call peace and order, to make use of more effectual methods, temporal punishment;—that is, compelling men to profess what reason will not suffer them to believe. A false peace, bought at the expense of brotherly love, and charity, the great badge and character of the disciples of Christ. This hath been practised with such success in some parts of Christendom, that truth and uprightness have thought fit to retire to more hospitable quarters, and have left behind them an outward formal profession, in the place of religion, and a blind submission to the impositions of men, instead of a faithful obedience to the declared will of God. In our country, by many happy providences, the case is much altered. Persecution and cruelty have naturally declined and dwindled into ———. Discouragements, which, though in themselves less horrible and less unchristian, are yet, in this respect, the more ridiculous, because they cannot procure any one end toward the flourishing of an established religion. These are trifles which will hardly soften common obstinacy, much less corrupt that true sincerity which is often found in erroneous consciences; but, it must be confessed, that conformity with the external orders and ceremonies of a church may be, and often is, procured by the help of the temporal sword; but it can bear no part in promoting real and unfeigned religion. We may be assured, that religion is that to which men must be persuaded, not constrained or terrified. For the consent we give to the principles of religion is an act of the mind, with which the will, which cannot be compelled, must be joined, and is founded on the sincere belief and love of God, and not upon prospect of any secular advantage or fear of human punishment. And, therefore, we find that, when Abraham departed from the religion and country of the Chaldees, it was upon the call of God, and that conviction which was wrought in his mind of the folly and absurdity of idolatry, and his belief of the promises which God made him. And when the children of Israel had, under Joshua, made a conquest of the land of Canaan, and destroyed the inhabitants with the edge of the sword, they did not compel any to be circumcised; but admitted into their covenant all those that relinquished idolatry, and freely and voluntarily became proselytes of their religion, of what nation soever they were. And when our Saviour sent his disciples to teach and convert all nations, and turn them from idols to the living God, the weapons he furnished them with were not carnal but

spiritual. He gave them a mouth and wisdom, and such powerful convictions of truth, and such a prudent conduct, as stopt the mouths of their adversaries, and caused some in all nations, though nurtured in, and innured to, heathenism, to embrace their doctrine, which they did willingly and freely, without any temptations from the world or fear of men. Nay, they embraced the gospel against all the interest of the present world, and exposed themselves to the rage and fury of the greatest potentates. So mightily grew the word of God and increased, by the convictions which it wrought in the minds of them that heard it. And this is the way of propagating a religion that is founded upon the strongest and most rational arguments, and has Almighty God for the object, and promoter, and defender of it. And this is most pleasing to God, who looks into the soul, and requires the homage of our wills and understandings; and unless these bow to him, and we serve him with all our hearts and with all our souls; if we should come to present ourselves before him, in his house, against our wills, and the direction of our judgments, it would be but like the bowing of Naaman in the house of Rimmon, whither he went only to please the king his master, and to secure his place.

To conclude, then, if there is nothing that tends so much to destroy all due respect to the clergy as the demand of more than can be due to them; if those demands I mentioned be not such as are due to them, but contrary to the very design of Christianity, the end of our ministry, and the very foundation of the church of England; I hope these enormous claims will be laid aside, and no more regard or authority will be pleaded than what is consistent with the regard due to Christ. Then shall we be sure to procure to ourselves and our ministry all that esteem and honour which is due or useful. For, if men were convinced that the main business of our calling, the chief end of our office, and the sole object of our endeavours, were, the honour of God, the interest of religion, and the salvation of their souls; their interest, as well as duty, gratitude, as well as benefit, would encourage, yea, and lay an obligation upon them to respect their spiritual pastors. What, therefore, remains, but that we so far neglect the motives of lust and ambition, as to discharge our duty for truth and conscience' sake, and so far disengage ourselves from unnecessary dependence upon men as to obey God rather than man? Then shall we be able, with readiness and cheerfulness, with patience and constancy, to undergo all the barbarities and cruelties that can be invented and inflicted by the malice of men or devils. If we set a just value upon the honour of God, and are truly zealous for the interest of Christianity, we shall be ready to oppose, with true Christian fortitude, all things, persons, or principles, that are destructive of the good of our country or the vitals of religion. In short, we shall always adhere to our great Lord and Master, Christ; and hold fast the form of sound words in tribulation, in distress, in persecution, in famine, nakedness, and peril; rejoicing that we are counted worthy to suffer shame for his name; the sufferings of this present time not being worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed.

APPENDIX III.

(A.)

Extract from "Burnett's History of his own Times," vol. vi., p.122—6. *Inserted to shew the parallel between the present state of religious views entertained by the Newman and Pusey party, and the same kind of views that prevailed in the reign of Queen Anne.*

THERE was then [A.D. 1712] a bill in the House of Parliament for building fifty new churches in and about London and Westminster;

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There appeared at this time an inclination, in many of the clergy, to a nearer approach towards the church of Rome. Hicks, an ill-tempered man, who was now at the head of the jacobite party, had in several books promoted a notion that there was a proper sacrifice made in the eucharist, and had, on many occasions, studied to lessen our aversion to popery. The supremacy of the crown in ecclesiastical matters, and the method in which the Reformation was carried, was openly condemned. One Brett had preached a sermon in several of the pulpits of London, which he afterwards printed, in which he pressed the necessity of priestly absolution in a strain beyond what was pretended to even in the church of Rome; he said no repentance could serve without it, and affirmed, that the priest was vested with the same power of pardoning that our Saviour himself had. A motion was made in the lower House of Convocation to censure this, but it was so ill supported, that it was let fall. Another conceit was taken up, of the invalidity of lay-baptism, on which several books have been writ; nor was the dispute a trifling one, since by this notion, the teachers among the dissenters passing for laymen, this went to the re-baptizing them and their congregations.

Dodwell gave the rise to this conceit; he was a very learned man, and led a strict life; he seemed to hunt after paradoxes in all of his writings, and broached not a few. He thought none could be saved but those who, by the sacraments, had a federal right to it; and that these were the seals of the covenant; so that he left all those who died without the sacraments to the uncovenanted mercies of God; and to this he added, that none had a right to give the sacraments but those who were commissioned to it, and these were, the apostles, and, after them, bishops and priests ordained by them: it followed, upon this, that sacraments administered by others were of no value. He pursued these notions so far, that he asserted that the souls of men were naturally mortal, but that the immortalizing virtue was conveyed by baptism, given by persons episcopally ordained. And yet, after all this, which

carried the episcopal function so high, he did not lay the original of that government on any instruction or warrant in the Scripture, but thought it was set up in the beginning of the second century, after the apostles were all dead. He wrote very doubtfully of the time in which the canon of the New Testament was settled; he thought it was not before the second century, and that an extraordinary inspiration was continued in the churches to that very time, to which he ascribed the original of episcopacy. This strange and precarious system was in great credit among us; and the necessity of the sacrament, and the invalidity of ecclesiastical functions, when performed by persons who were not episcopally ordained, were entertained by many with great applause. This made the dissenters pass for no Christians, and put all thoughts of reconciling them to us far out of view; and several little books were spread about the nation to prove the necessity of re-baptizing them, and that they were in a state of damnation till that was done; but few were by these arguments prevailed upon to be re-baptized. This struck even at the baptism by midwives in the church of Rome, which was practised and connived at here in England, till it was objected in the conference held at Hampton-Court, soon after King James the First's accession to the crown, and baptism was not till then limited to persons in orders. Nothing of this kind was so much as mentioned in the year 1660, when a great part of the nation had been baptized by dissenters; but it was now promoted with much heat.

The bishops thought it necessary to put a stop to this new and extravagant doctrine; so a declaration was agreed to, first, against the irregularity of all baptism by persons who were not in holy orders; but that yet, according to the practice of the primitive church, and the constant usage of the church of England, no baptism (in or with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost) ought to be reiterated. The Archbishop of York at first agreed to this; so it was resolved to publish it in the name of all the bishops of England; but he was prevailed on to change his mind, and refused to sign it, pretending that this would encourage irregular baptism; so the Archbishop of Canterbury, with most of the bishops of his province, resolved to offer it to the convocation. It was agreed to in the upper house, the Bishop of Rochester only dissenting; but when it was sent to the lower house, they would not so much as take it into consideration, but laid it aside, thinking that it would encourage those who struck at the dignity of the priesthood. This was all that passed in convocation.

(B.)

Part of a Letter, giving an account of the First Sermon preached by the brother of Earl Spencer, after his apostatizing to the Romish communion.

Naples, Feb. 8, 1831.

..... I have been here now rather more than a week, having left Rome something sooner than I first intended. I will endeavour to give you some account of those things I observed most likely to interest you. Rome, indeed, must afford pleasure to every thinking mind. It is truly

a city of ruins, whether we look to the existing remains of its fallen greatness, or examine the character of the descendants of the once proud master of the world. You wished to have an account of the state of religion in Rome. How can I give an account of their religion, being, except in name, without any myself? I had some conversation on the subject of religion with an abbé, of whom I took lessons in Italian, who I believe to be a good Christian. The whole of their differences from our church he proved to be founded on scripture, although I was not sufficiently acquainted with the sacred writings to know if he quoted fairly. Idol-worship he most flatly denies, although it is to be seen every minute throughout the day in a thousand places in Rome. He says that if the religion is abused by the ignorance of the people, it argues nothing against the religion, but against the wickedness of man; yet we see this religion, as sent forth by its professors, expressly holds up idols to adoration, which, if they do not adore themselves, they are interested in making others. It is impossible to enter a catholic church in Italy without having pity for the poor deluded creatures one sees on their knees before a wooden image, dressed out with silks and golden ornaments, and repeating before it prayers in a language of which they understand not a word. The music, too, of their churches, is not at all calculated to produce the effect you might suppose. I never witnessed the cathedral service in England without feeling my thoughts elevated towards the Creator in at least the prayer of the mind; but here it is far different. The music of their churches is conducted on the same scientific system as the music of a theatre: eunuchs are thrust forward to captivate the ear by the brilliancy of the execution of their unnatural voices; the mind becomes drawn aside from the subject of His praise to listen to the varied execution of a celebrated singer, with the same feeling as we should, at a theatre, forget the drama in the person of the actor or actress. I went one Sunday evening to hear a sacred drama performed in one of the churches, but further it would have been quite impossible to discover whether it was sacred or profane. After the drama, a young man, a priest, ascended the pulpit to deliver a sermon; the church had been crowded to excess, but few stayed to hear what should have been the chief object of their congregating. I was one who stayed, perhaps out of curiosity, to discover the bent of a catholic sermon; it was the week previous to the commencement of Christmas. The subject he chose for his discourse was the coming festival; he drew a most lively picture of the sufferings of our Saviour, and of the unworthiness of those for whom he suffered, and strongly exhorted his hearers to prepare and fit themselves, by repentance, to celebrate the coming festival with meekness and lowliness of heart. His oration was given in language so simple, yet so expressive; and not one word did he utter, as far as my knowledge of the language would enable me to discover, which might not have been delivered, with equal propriety, from a protestant pulpit. I was most agreeably disappointed, little expecting to have heard such a discourse from a catholic clergyman.

The English are now allowed to have a chapel outside the walls of Rome. I did not attend there so often as I ought; the present officiating minister is one whose preaching I cannot, in my present state of mind, at least, understand. I was present at another ceremony, a de-

scription of which I will endeavour to give you, as it is most likely to interest you. You are perhaps aware that a son of Earl Spencer, and brother of Lord Althorp, who was a protestant clergyman, and holding some good livings in the church, has lately become a convert to the Roman faith, and is now admitted into priest's orders in that church. About a fortnight before I left Rome, he preached his first sermon after he became a Roman Catholic; it was preached in a Roman-catholic church, but in English. It was attended by most of the English residents in Rome, drawn together by the novelty of a man of his rank in such a situation. I cannot recollect from what portion of scripture he took his discourse, but you will no doubt recognise it.* He gave a description of the state of the holy temple then lying in ruins, the rebuilding of which the Jews had neglected, and were therefore under severe sentence from God; and they were told, by the mouth of a prophet, that nothing with them should be allowed to prosper till the temple was restored to its proper state. He then reviewed the present political state of England, which he described as being in a state bordering on revolution and utter ruin, with pestilence overhanging it. He argued that, could England be rescued from her present state by the hands of her statesmen, they were at her command; but he argued that, although man was, to a certain degree, a free agent, yet did God sometimes remove that power, and inflict punishment on nations for their iniquities. He then compared England and Englishmen to the Jews, and the Roman-catholic religion to the holy temple which they had suffered to remain in ruins, and that there was no other means of rescuing England from the storms which threaten her, save her becoming a nation of Roman Catholics. He concluded by exhorting every one present to assist him in each rousing up his neighbour, that they might avert the wrath that overhung their native country. How easily might the same argument be applied against the Roman-catholic religion, and the adoption of the protestant, as the rebuilding of the temple, which had become ruined and moss-grown in the hands of its possessors.

To the Rev. Peter Maurice, Iffley,
Oxford, Inghilterra.

(C.)

Extract from a Vindication of the Primitive Church and Diocesan Episcopacy, by Henry Maurice, D.D. (1682); *inserted to shew the existence of an Apostolical Church in Britain long before the time of the Monk Augustine.* pp. 563—5.

As to our country of Britain . . . . . it is certain, indeed, that we had bishops betimes; for we find some of their subscriptions to the great council of Arles, A.D. 314, and there were some of them present, about forty years after, in the council of Ariminum; but how large their bishops were then will be a very hard matter to demonstrate. Jeffrey of Monmouth reckons twenty-eight bishops and three archbishops in

* Haggai, chap. i.

Lucius his time, set up in the place of so many flamins and archflamins, who were the directors of the heathen religion here; and this, it seems, he had from Gildas de Victoria Aurelii Ambrosii. But all this, I suppose, has no other foundation than a passage out of Gildas de Exidio Britanniæ, where he mentions twenty-eight cities in Britain; and another out of Bede, who follows Gildas. The flamins, I suppose, were added for ornament afterwards, by some imposture under the name of Gildas. But all the account of the number of bishops here is in Bede, who says, that in a synod assembled in Worcestershire, about the receiving Augustine the monk, there were seven British bishops present, and probably all the bishops in the country were there, this being the second synod assembled upon that subject, and that wherein the matter in controversy was to be finally decided, the bishops that were present in the first conference pretending they had not sufficient authority to make an accommodation.

But whether it were upon the authority of this testimony, or of something else more express, so it is, that the succeeding historians deliver it for certain that Wales had but seven bishops. Jeffrey of Monmouth tells us, that when Austin came over, he found in the province of the ancient Britons seven bishopricks, and one archbishoprick; and Gyraldus Cambrensis gives the reasons why there were but four in his time, since anciently there were seven:—Either (says he) there were more cathedrals within the compass of Wales in former times, or rather, because Wales was of a larger extent heretofore than it was in his dayes, and reached as far as Severn; and so indeed it was of much greater extent than it is now, having all the country of Hereford, a great part of Gloucestershire, Worcester, Salop, and Cheshire, belonging to it. And Baleus gives this account of the bishops assembled in that synod, mentioned before out of Bede: That seven Brittish bishops met there; for in those dayes the Brittains had just so many under the archbishop of Menevia, according to the number of bishops of Asia, mentioned in the Revelation of St. John, and then gives their names—Hereford, Llandaff, Llanbadern Vowr, Bangor, Asaph, Worcester, and Morganensis, or Glamorgan, though this was the same with Llandaff; and therefore Bishop Usher thinks, that either Chester must make up the seventh, or Caer Ilyby, i. e., Holyhead, in the isle of Anglesey; and so perhaps it is Episcopus Monensis, and not Morganensis. But as to the number of the Welch bishops at Austin's coming over, if any desire to know anything more particularly, he may consult the learned primate of Armagh, who has exhausted that point. * * * * *

(D.)

Extracts from a Lecture, &c. on the Antiquity of the Church of England, by the Rev. M. W. Foye, A.M., Oxon. et Dub., curate of St. Martin's, Birmingham.

THE heads of the lecture are as follow:—

Firstly, that the church of England was founded, not only during the lifetime of the apostles, but by an apostle or apostles *in person;*—

secondly, the evidence we have that Paul was its founder;—thirdly, that the celestial fire thus deposited on our altars never expired, but burned brightly and increasingly till, in the seventh century, the British church, on her first acquaintance *with*, rejected the arrogant pretensions and corruptions *of*, the church of Rome;—fourthly, the reasons and grounds of this rejection, as proving the purity of the church in England at that time. Lastly, that, even when Saxon idolatry did, for a while, intrude upon and oppress the church here, it was not the Romish missionaries after all, but the clergy of the old national church, and Irish missionaries from the island of I-Columb-Kill, who converted the Saxon settlers, and reduced the kingdoms of the Heptarchy to the obedience of Christ. *The emissaries of the Pope only intruded upon and usurped their labours.*

Under the third head he writes as follows :—

That she continued a flourishing church (flourishing for the age) we have the undoubted testimony of the Christian fathers in each successive century, down from the age of the apostles ; the *incidental*, *undesigned*, *disinterested*, *unbiassed* testimony, which must have the preference to all *interested party*-testimony *since invented*, and read *only in monkish legends and chronicles.*

Thus, to give one or two instances in each century. Tertullian, who flourished about eighty years after the death of the apostle John, writing against the Jews, and proving to them that Jesus is the Christ, by an argument (very common in those early ages) drawn from the wide extent which his religion had already attained among the nations, instances, among others, the remote nations of Britain, and instances them, too, in such a way as to shew that the church was now so extensively spread in the island as to be received in those *wild inaccessible parts where the Roman arms had not yet penetrated.* The whole passage is very interesting, grand, and beautiful, as shewing not only the astounding progress Christianity had made at the end of the second century over the world, but also the opinion which the whole Christian church then entertained of our Lord's person and offices. "You believe (says he to the Jews) yourselves, that the Christ is to be a king and a conqueror; lo! then, what king—what conqueror—what nation, has ever acquired so mighty a dominion as this Christ has, who is already come? Did Solomon? Did the Babylonians? Did Nebuchadnezzar? Alexander? the Romans, &c. &c.?" and then enumerating the nations in which the religion and rule of Christ were received at that time, he thus refers to Britain among the rest:—"In whom else but that Christ who is already come have all these nations believed! all the borders of Spain, the divers nations of Gaul—and *those places of Britain which the Roman arms have not yet been able to penetrate*, BUT WHICH ARE SUBJECT TO CHRIST."*

Christianity, we know, settled herself first generally in the leading cities and towns of the empire, and thence extended herself gradually over the country around; so that it is an obvious inference from Tertullian's words, that by the time she had subdued the wildest parts of Bri-

* Tract. Adversus Judæos. c. 7.

tain to the yoke of Christ, she must have been well *established* over all its more civilized and accessible regions.

Now add to this the fact which, stripped of the legends added to it by the monks, comes to this simply, as stated in the Welch Triads, that in this century "Lleirwig, (in Latin, Lucius,) called Lleuver the Great, king of Britain, (under the Romans) publicly professed the Christian religion, and gave the privilege of country and tribe, with civil and ecclesiastical rights, to all who were Christians."

So again—Origen, who lived in the *third* century, a little after the death of Tertullian, to shew how prophecy was being fulfilled in the spreading out of Christianity, among other instances, alleges Britain, and, like Tertullian before him, in such a way as shews how greatly the church was flourishing here at his time—A. D. 240. "When (says he) did Britain, before the coming of Christ, *consent together* in the worship of one God?" The words "*consent together*," shewing clearly the great and extensive, if not the general, spread and reception of the faith all over the island. So again, "*Christ's power* is seen in *Britain* as well as in Mauritania."

In the fourth century, testimonies so multiplied that there is some difficulty in making a selection. To omit innumerable other particulars, we may observe in general, that in the year 303 commenced that fiery trial, the last of the ten persecutions,—that called the *Dioclesian*,—which was the first that lighted the fagot on the British shores, and stained her soil with the blood of the martyrs. Gildas, and Bede after him, are copious in their accounts of the havoc it made here:—"Then it was (say they) that Britain enjoyed the highest glory by her devoted confession of God,"—vast was the number of her martyrs. The names of several are preserved and celebrated by the two writers just mentioned, especially that of *St. Alban*, who suffered on the hill over against the present St. Alban's, which is named after him. This persecution closed with Constantine's accession to the empire. He was a native of Britain, his mother, Helena, was a British lady, his father died in Britain, and he was himself proclaimed emperor in Britain; and as he was the first emperor who declared himself a Christian, so, we may be sure, the church of Britain enjoyed not the least portion of his favour. "Now (says Gildas and Bede*) the persecuted Christians return from the woods, and mountains, and dens of the earth, re-establish Christianity, restore the churches, build basiliks of the saints and martyrs, especially one where St. Alban lies buried; and setting up again in triumph their victorious standards, celebrate their divine rites with clean hands and hearts,—and this peace continued in the British churches till the times of the *Arian madness*, which infected this remote island as well as the rest of the world."

One particular more in this century I must notice, and I claim your special attention to it. The empire having become Christian, as general councils from this period became common, so we find the British bishops regularly attending their sessions, and subscribing their decrees and canons. Three names, Eborus of York, Restitutus of Lon-

* Bede, lib. i., c. 7, 8.

don, and Adelphius of Caerleon-upon-Usk, with the names of a priest and a deacon, are found appended to the Council of Arles, celebrated in the year 314.* So also they were present at Sardica in 347, at Ariminum in 359, and it is highly probable there were some also at the great Council of Nice. These facts alone, had we no other, are, in themselves, all the proofs that can be desired to establish *the validity of the orders of the church here, the episcopal form of her government, and her entire constitution as a church of Christ,* seeing that her titles and claims to these characters went unquestioned, were admitted by the church universal assembled in general council—in an age, too, when the church had little else to do than to inquire into ordinations, consecrations, successions, and such like matters, and when she did inquire into them with the utmost severity.

Let us never lose sight, then, of these interesting and valuable facts:—three bishops,† from the principal cities then in England, representing their brethren and the church of the island at large, having seats *in,* and subscribing the canons *of,* the councils held in Europe and Asia during the fourth century, at one of which, that of Nice, be it remembered, the independence of all national churches was settled, and all foreign jurisdiction excluded by canon.

And as to the purity of the faith of our church at this time, it was not merely admitted but admired. Thus Jerome:—"Equally from Britain as from Jerusalem, the gates of heaven lie open." Here you see her orthodoxy is put on a par with that of Jerusalem, "*the mother of us all.*" And in another place he says, "That the Churches of Gaul and *Britain* with those of Asia and the East, *adore one Christ,* observe *one rule of truth.*"—Vol. i. p. 103. St. John Chrysostom, bishop and patriarch of Constantinople, in several places refers to the British churches, and refers to them, too, in such a way, as to shew that the faith received by them from the apostles continued not only pure and sound, but even flourishing, to his own time, that is, to the fifth century. "The Britannic Isles which lie beyond this sea, those I mean *lying in the very ocean,* have felt the power of the word."—Tome vi., p. 635. Again, "Whether you go to the ocean, even to the *British Isles,* or sail to the Euxine Sea, or go to the North, you will hear them everywhere teaching wisdom out of the Scriptures, each indeed differing in *voice,* but not *faith;* in *language,* but not in *sentiment.*"—Tome viii., p. 3. So again, "To whatever quarter you turn,—to the Indians, or Moors, or *Britains, even the remotest bounds of the West,* you will find this doctrine:—'*In the beginning was the word,' and* with it *all the means of holiness of life.*"

Throughout the remainder of the fifth century and part of the sixth, we have still many evidences of her flourishing condition, all circumstances considered. Thus theological disputes settled; two successive councils held to establish against Pelagius the doctrines of grace; schools (or colleges) instituted in several dioceses, particularly in the

* Euseb. Ecclesiastical History, b. x., c. 5. So also, Collection of the Councils by Labbe, i, 1430.

† They were the metropolitans.

West, which produced many great men and saints; a third council, consisting of 118 bishops,* besides abbots and other ecclesiastics, celebrated at the church of St. David in Wales, in the sixth century, at which St. David,† who was the great ornament of the sixth century, and the glory of the British church, presided,—these, with many such other facts, afford incontrovertible proofs that the British Church was still a regular episcopal church in the fifth and sixth centuries. It is true that, during the sixth, especially the latter part of it, she suffered great calamities and vicissitudes from the violence of the Jute, the Anglian, and Saxon settlers. Yet the facts now mentioned, and some others which we shall notice anon, are sufficient proofs that she lived through them all—*lived* even in the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and flourished in the rest of Britain.

We come now to our fourth position, namely, the first appearance of a Romish missionary in the island, and the British church's consequent rejection of his overtures and pretensions. A few preliminary remarks will be important. Observe,

1st.—That on the history of our church, from this time onward, the venerable Bede, our most eminent national historian, (he died in the year 735, admitted on all hands to have been by far the greatest scholar in Christendom during the eighth century,) is very copious; and from him the account I am about further to submit to you is extracted in almost his express words. We must keep in mind, however, that, being a Saxon by birth, of the papal party, and indeed a devoted admirer of the Roman See, "*he saith as little,*" says Leland, "*as he well could that tendeth to the honour of the British church.*"

2nd.—Though during the latter part of the sixth century especially Christianity suffered greatly from the Saxon invaders, and gradually receded westward, and though, with the Saxon dominion, Saxon idolatry prevailed over the seven kingdoms established by them, yet not, mark! so as to leave the Heptarchy in total darkness,—for, first, it was still the religion of the old natives, now reduced to slavery throughout the Heptarchy.‡ Second—some tolerated it among their British subjects on condition of their paying an annual tribute.§

Nay, 3rd.—Theonus, archbishop of London, in the very centre of Saxon dominion, and Thadioc, archbishop of York, did not quit their sees, and retire westward from the fury of the persecutors, till 586, only ten years before the intrusion of Austin.‖ And it was then with only *many*, not with *all*, of their clergy. We know from all the annals of religious persecution, that the heads of the church are always the first objects of its cruelty. The lofty pines are shaken by the storm, while the lowly shrub escapes its fury. Hence, a certain inference, that no

* See Stillingfleet for remarks on this council, particularly as to the number of bishops, which he shews is not at all improbable, as they were then far more numerous than they have been since; besides, they might have been joined by others from the neighbouring churches.

† He died, anno 544.

‡ This is admitted by Lingard, the Romish historian, vol. i., p. 81.

§ Stillingfleet, from Rudburn, p. 344.

‖ Stillingfleet, from Math. West. p. 31.

few Christians must yet have remained in those provinces where the archbishops had so long continued,—whence they had only so lately been forced to retire. This, I think, is clear.

One remarkable fact more. Bede admits, (book i., c. 25,) that even at the moment of Austin's landing, Christianity was no stranger to the court of Kent. Bertha, the royal spouse of Ethelbert, king of Kent, was a Christian, and had her bishop with her, in the palace of Canterbury, as her principal chaplain, and had her church, that of St. Martin, in the neighbourhood, "to which," says he, "she *was wont* to resort, to offer her devotions;" so that there existed "in the principal seat of Anglo-Saxon power a Christian congregation, having at its head an orthodox bishop, and for its leading member the most illustrious female in England,"* for Ethelbert was at this time bretwald, or monarch.

When, therefore, it is said by monkish writers, in a vague, general, declamatory style, "that the Saxons left not the face of Christianity wherever they prevailed,"† we must not understand these words literally,—we must make great deductions for the declamatory style; we must not lose sight of facts in the mists of declamation; we must remember still, that whilst Christianity *flourished* throughout all the west of the island, she certainly lived throughout the rest of England—yea, one monastery (or college) the most famous one, of Bangor, contained 2,100 members. We know, from the history of persecutions, what Christians will do to maintain their faith and worship.

Thus, then, it was that matters stood in Britain, when, in the year 596, the Roman Austin, with forty companions, was sent hither by Gregory the Great, under a pretence of converting the idolatrous Saxon settlers, but with a real view of subjecting the church to his yoke. When they appeared in the kingdom of Kent, they had the high satisfaction, if to them a satisfaction, of beholding the lamp of Christianity burning even there,—burning, though *sadly*, it may be true, yet not dimly; yea, doubtless, the more brightly and purely, *because*, sadly,—Christianity, to use the words of the poet, "smiled through her tears."

The last mentioned circumstance, (that of the court being already almost half Christian,) sufficiently accounts for the kind reception the Roman monks met with in Kent. Hence we see no difficulty in the fact that Ethelbert, who received them in open air, fearful of magic, bestowed upon them forthwith a mansion in Canterbury, and, though he did not declare himself at once a convert, yet gave them a licence to preach and evangelize his kingdom. His conversion soon followed. Thus then we have now two rival churches in the island, the old Apostolic British church, (two of whose archbishops, Theonus and Thadioc, were *probably* yet alive, while another, *we know*, was in his chair at Landaff or Caerleon-upon-Usk,) and the newly-established Saxon or Romish church, whose primacy was at Canterbury; its archbishop *designing—meditating*—a spiritual sovereignty; indeed, sent in by the pope with the view of subjecting all the other bishops of the island to his see. Let me prove this:—Austin had no sooner gained a footing,

* Soames' History of the Anglo-Saxon church.
† Rainulph and Matthew, of Westminster.

than he wrote to the pope for instructions; and one of the questions proposed to him, with the answer of Gregory, puts the matter in a clear light, and shews, in their own words, the arrogant, uncharitable, unjust, ambitious, not to say, unchristian, views of both.—Question: "How am I to deal with the bishops of Britain?"—Answer: "All the bishops of Britain I commit to you, brother, that the *unlearned* may be *taught*, the *weak strengthened* by your word, and the *disobedient corrected* by your authority."* This was the first time the language of ecclesiastical *usurpation* was heard in this island. Armed, then, with these powers over the whole church in England, Austin demands a conference with the British bishops of the next province, and by the interest of Ethelbert obtains it. They meet him near Worcester. He proposes that, ratifying a catholic peace,† as he calls it, they would unite *with him*, in the common labour of preaching the Gospel to the Gentile Saxons. After a lengthened dispute, "the British bishops refuse their assent, *reject his prayers, his exhortations, his threats.*" In a second conference, at "which were present seven British bishops, with many learned doctors, principally from the most noble monastery of Bangor, over which Dinoth then presided," Austin, humbled and baffled by the spirit of the British bishops, grows more moderate in his demands. He reduces them to *three*, and, mark his words! "Though (says he) *ye do many things contrary to our customs*, yet if ye will *obey me* in the three following particulars—the time of observing Easter, the manner of baptising children, and the preaching of the gospel to the heathen, *all other things* that ye do, *however contrary to our customs*, we will strive to tolerate in you." The native prelates answer, "We will do none of these things, neither will we have you for our archbishop." "*If, then*, retorts the baffled, angry Austin, in *a menacing tone*, "*you will not accept of peace with brethren, you shall have war with your enemies; and if you will not preach the way of life to the Anglo-Saxons, you shall suffer the vengeance of death at their hands.*"‡ "WHICH THREAT," adds the historian, "WAS SOON FULFILLED IN EVERY TITTLE, AS THE MAN OF GOD HAD PREDICTED." How? IN THE COLD-BLOODED SLAUGHTER OF 1200 UNARMED MONKS AND ECCLESIASTICS AT BANGOR, WHILE AT THEIR SOLEMN DEVOTIONS PRAYING FOR THE SUCCESS OF THEIR COUNTRY'S ARMS, BY ORDER OF ONE OF THE ANGLO-SAXON KINGS!§

Thus, then, you have, from Bede himself, an Anglo-Saxon, of the Romish party, (for I have given you nothing in this sketch but his express words,) and in the seventh century, the ancient apostolic church of England's *indignant* and *firm*, but dear-*bought*, rejection of the overtures of the church of Rome, the maintenance of her ancient freedom and independence costing her, as it appears, the lifeblood of 1,200 of her most pious sons!‖

* Bede, book i. c. 27.

† An insidious term, the cant phrase of Rome, which implied their entire submission to his religion and authority.

‡ Bede, book ii. c. 2.

§ Bede, ibid.

‖ The reader of these extracts will not be surprised at the insertion of so much of this valuable pamphlet, when it is known that the Author of "Popery of Ox-

Now, my brethren, we are ready for our fifth position, and while we complete our argument, it will be interesting to you to see on what grounds it was that the primitive prelates, abbots, and doctors of the British church, rejected the proposed union with the Romish missionaries. At first sight it may appear strange to some of you that the old native ecclesiastics rejected such apparently reasonable proposals; but a moment's reflection will convince you, that all that was not only unreasonable, but unkind also, and unrighteous too, was on the side of the foreign intruders and usurpers. *Firstly*, the uniting of the British church in the proposed catholic peace involved their subjection to Austin and the pope; it was to be at the expense of having him for their archbishop, to the exclusion of their own primate; the terms, remember, were, "If ye obey me in these three things;"—*secondly*, it involved the establishment of Austin and his followers in the rights and privileges of others—in many sees and churches, the expelled owners of which were yet alive;—*thirdly*, it was contrary to the canons of the catholic church, which forbid all foreign interference;—*fourthly*, it was contrary to justice, piety, and pity, to admit him to be their primate, to the preju-

ford" was brought up at the Free Grammar School of Bangor, which is erected upon the site of that ancient academy of our early British church. After that horrid massacre of the students and ecclesiastics of Bangor, in Flintshire, the city of Bangor, in Carnarvonshire, originally a colony from the former place, (the first bishop, Daniel, being son of Dinoth, one of the ecclesiastics of the Bangor in Flintshire, before the middle of the sixth century,) afforded an asylum to those that might have survived that deadly blow inflicted upon the church in Britain. In that delightful retreat, amidst the snow-clad hills, far removed from their persecuting neighbours, they pursued their study and teaching of God's pure word. Making another spot in their beloved Cymry a place of general assembly, like the general assembly and church of the first-born whose names are written in heaven, there they sung the praises of Him that had redeemed them by his own blood, making melody in their hearts. The name being indicative of their characters,—viz., Ban, or Fan, and Chor, that is, the *Large*, or *the Place of the Quire*. Often have the eyes of my boyhood gazed, with an intensity of feeling quite unaccountable, upon the monumental fragments of by-gone days still preserved in various parts of the walls of our play ground. At Bangor I received the well-grounded rudiments of a sound classical education, which I enjoyed from ten years of age until I became a member of Jesus college, in Oxford. In its ancient cathedral, at the age of fourteen years, I was admitted by the rite of confirmation into the full privileges of our apostolical church; and within the same walls, endeared to my affections by an infinity of the most pleasurable associations, I was admitted to the order of deacon and priest in the same communion. For the first twelve months after ordination, I ministered in my course through the medium of that most expressive and eloquent language of our ancient nation, in the midst of its native population; and as long as my memory shall retain any traces of the blood shed there, through the usurpation of the Bishop of Rome and his never-to-be-forgotten emissary, Augustine, so long shall all the energies of my body and soul be directed towards that controversy which we Britons have ever carried on against our popish adversaries, earnestly contending for the faith once delivered to the saints, and admitting of no authority in divine things except the authority of the pure word of God. It has been the privilege of the ancient Britons, representatives of the name of the first king of the house of Judah, to retain among them a remnant who have valued the sure mercies of the true David, the last king of the same house; as if that lost tribe and regal family had obtained in spirit, if not in letter, a lot and inheritance in the midst of that wild and romantic scenery.

dice, the degradation of their own; and that at the bidding of a proud and insolent stranger;—*fifthly*, besides all this, the new pastors countenanced the Saxons and Angles in those perfidious usurpations and oppressions which the old prelates and ecclesiastics had witnessed with just horror, and, if true to their charge, had preached against with Christian firmness, a thing which we collect they did, and which, in fact, brought down upon them and their church the fury of the perjured idolators. This, then, was the cause why they said, and had good cause to say:—" We will not do these things, neither will we have you to be archbishop over us."

Thus it was, to use the words of Geraldus, " that *both him* and his *institutes* they *despised*, and having returned home they publicly proclaimed that they would have none of him for archbishop." They would not submit their necks to the Roman yoke, not that they were disinclined to preach the word of life to those very heathens who had so wronged and oppressed them. The following extract, containing the answer of Dinoth, who presided at the time over the great school at Banchor, and was one of the principal spokesmen on the British side, (which answer Bede has not recorded) shews in a clear light that it was *not* disinclination:—" Know assuredly, and have no doubts upon the matter," said this venerable and primitive ecclesiastic, " that we all, and each one of us, are obedient and subject to the church of God, and to the pope of Rome, and to every godly Christian, to love every one in his degree in perfect charity, and to help every one, in word and deed, to be the children of God—and other obedience than this I know not to be due to him whom you call pope and father of fathers; and this obedience we are ready to give and to pay to *him* and to every Christian continually. *Besides, we are under the government of the bishop of Karleon-upon-Uske, who, under God, is to oversee over us, and cause us to keep the way spiritual.*"*

Thus you have the first ground of rejection,—the authority claimed by Austin in the name of the bishop of Rome. But I must prove to you, secondly, that it was the *religious usages and ceremonies* of the church of Rome at the time that were the principal objects of abhorrence to these old-fashioned, primitive, simple, apostolic Christians. I do not say that the church of Rome had yet *materially* erred in the *articles of faith*. If we except, firstly, the pretensions of the bishop of Rome, which were yet comparatively moderate; secondly, some monkish dreams and fantasies which Gregory sanctioned, respecting some vague purgatory or other; and, thirdly, prayers for the dead; if we except these three things, Rome was yet, in *matters of doctrine, comparatively* unsullied. But mark this, however! she had already laid deep the foundations of many, in her use of images, incense, holy water, reliques, service in an unknown tongue, and in the load of strange, mysterious, heathenish ceremonies and usages with which she had encumbered every ordinance of religion, and buried almost quite out of sight the first simplicity of Christian worship. Of those Gregory himself was one of the most enthusiastic promoters.

* Leland, 71—Spelman in his Councils, page 108.

A single extract from Bede will lay open to you one fatal source of Rome's corruptions, more than anything I can say upon the subject. It is a letter of Gregory's, directing Austin what he was to do with the heathen temples, festivals, ceremonies, &c. He was simply to *Christianize* them, that by this kind indulgence he might the more easily proselytize, for I cannot say convert, the people:—"Let not the temples of the idols be destroyed, but only let the idols be removed, let holy water be sprinkled in them, altars built, reliques desposited, and thus let them be turned to the service of the true God, that the people, seeing their old temples, may put away error from their hearts, and flock with more familiarity to their accustomed places. And as they are wont to sacrifice to their demons numerous oxen, let some saint's festival be substituted for their idol's day; thus, on the day of the church's dedication, (the wake-day, as it is now called,) or the holiday of the saint, let them make booths round the temple-churches, slay animals, not to the devil, but for their own eating, celebrate the holiday with religious feasting, and give glory to God for their fulness; that by our thus allowing them external bodily joys, they may be the more readily brought to assent to that which is internal; for it is indubitably an impossible thing to expel all error from the mind at once.—Given at Rome, &c."

Here is the well-intended, it may be, but weak, fatal policy, which gradually heathenized and corrupted the simplicity of Christian doctrine and worship. So early was the church of Rome content to leave the idolator his old heart, profane ceremonies, notions, and practices, if only he consented to change his own and their *name* to that of Christian.

Thus, then, when they appeared upon our shores, exhibiting the religion of Christ in these new-fashioned, gorgeous colours—advancing, as Bede describes them, with processions, crucifixes, images of our Lord, and singing litanies in an unusual mode and unknown tongue, so much so as to strike the heathen monarch with the terror of magic, with the very many other customs in which they and we were contrary to each other, no wonder at all that this *odd, novel, exotic, and apparently heathenish,* Christianity made at first sight a startling impression upon, and revolted the native piety of, the yet simple and unsophisticated followers of St. Paul, and descendants of the good old Kings Bryan and Lleirwig. The British and Irish Christians had yet been, comparatively, unspoiled in doctrine, discipline, and worship, by that silly, overforward, officious wisdom of man, which has, ever since the world began, loved to tamper with, and, by attempting to model, marred the simple religion of God. It is almost a paradox to say that anything Christian is natural; but yet, as Christian and other habits may, and do, under the influence of God's spirit, become *second nature,* so our English and Irish ancestors, shocked at these novelties, shrunk with a *natural Christian* abhorrence from the entire religion of the new comers. The form which it had by this time assumed, apparently approached that of the idolatrous Saxons. As it was, therefore, more likely to recommend itself to and gain upon their heathenish habits and prejudices, so it was, for the same cause, more likely to make the old native Christians justly more jealous of its poisonous tendency, and naturally have a greater horror of it than of paganism itself. Therefore they said, "we

will do none of the things you specify; we will not conform to your worship in those things in which our practices are contrary, much less will we have you as archbishop."

That the remarks I have now offered are not mere conjectures, or matters of opinion only, but the irresistible impressions of historical facts, the following extracts will prove:—

Let me premise, that I do not wish any stress to be laid upon the two quotations I am about to give, unless borne out by the testimony of Bede. From an old Welsh Chronicle, preserved in Bennett's college, Cambridge, the following is an extract:—" After the Saxons prevailed, continual war remained between the Brittayans the then inhabitauntes of the realme, and the Saxons, the Brittayans being *Christians* and the Saxons *pagans*. However, as occasion served, they sometimes treated of peace, and then they mette together and communed together; but after that, by the means of Austin, the Saxons became Christians, in such sort as Austin had taught them; the Brittayans would not, after that, *neither eat nor drink* with *them, nor yet* SALUTE *them, because they corrupted with superstition, images, and idolatrie, the* TRUE RELIGION OF CHRIST." The words "superstition, images, and idolatry," express not, I take it, what the church of Rome had yet literally become; for we know from Gregory's own letters that they had not yet adopted the *worship* of images, but what, from her unchristian usages, she *seemed* to have become, what, in brief, from her strange corrupt appearance, British Christians *took* her to be.

To this we add another extract, which Archbishop Usher has translated from the remains of Taliessyn, who lived about the time, was the most famous of the ancient British bards, and was styled by his countrymen Ben Beirdth,—" the Chief of the Bards." It well describes what opinion even the *populace*, among whom these bards travelled and sung, entertained of the new intruding pastors:—

Woe be to that priest y-borne
That will not cleanly weed his corn,
  And preach his charge among.
Woe be to that shepherd, I say,
That will not watch his fold *alway*,
  As to his office doth belong.
Woe be to him that will not keep
From *Romish wolves* his sheep,
  With staff and weapon strong.

To these we might add other like testimonies, as the archbishop does; but we need not have recourse to the remains of the ancient British bards, nor manuscript chronicles, to shew the grounds on which our church rejected communion with the church of Rome in the seventh century. Bede himself furnishes us with more than details enough on the subject. I shall submit two extracts from him, which fully bear out the testimony of the bards and chroniclers, and which are quite decisive as to the point in hand. In his 2nd book, 20th chapter, he tells us, Cadwalla, the old British king, rebelled successfully in Northumberland; and, describing his severities upon the Saxon settlers, he adds, " And even for that Christian religion which had sprung up among the

Saxons he had no respect; he shewed no deference to it; *for even to this day* (more than one hundred years after the events occurred which he is recording) *it is the custom of the Britons to set at nought the faith and religion of the Angles, and no more to hold communion with them in anything than with the pagans themselves.*"

Thus, then, this authentic history of one of the adverse party, who describes what passed before his own eyes, sufficiently bears out the accounts of the bards and chroniclers.

But this is not all; we can bring the express words of the intruding ecclesiastics themselves. Bede has preserved in his 2nd book, chap. iv. an epis. addressed by Laurence, Austin's successor, by Mellitus of London, and Justus of Rochester, to the Irish bishops and abbots, which shews in the most striking manner what a horror they (the Irish) as well as the British, entertained at the time of Rome's faith and religion:—

"These three bishops having heard (says he) that the Irish were as opposed to their religion, in many things, (mark!) as the British themselves, wrote to them an exhortatory letter, beseeching and conjuring them to join with them in catholic peace and unity, of which the following is the beginning:—"'Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, bishops, servants of the servants of God, to our lords and most dear brethren, the bishops or abbots of Ireland, greeting. We once thought better of the Irish than of the Britons; but we have since learned from Daganus, one of your bishops, who came into this island, and from Columbanus, an abbot, who is settled in France, *that the Irish differ in nothing from the British in their manner of living; for bishop Daganus, when he came here, would not so much as eat under the same roof, in the same house with us, much less sit at the same table with us.*' The same Laurentius (adds Bede) with his brother bishops, sent a similar epistle to the British clergy, but how little effect he produced by such efforts, the sad state of things, even at this day (when Bede was writing, A.D. 731,) sufficiently declares."*

This, brethren, if anything, is decisive. We cannot desire, much less expect to find, more satisfactory testimony from more credible witnesses. Here we have not only an apostolic but a Protestant church. Here we have the old apostolic and yet uncorrupted church of Britain, with her bishops, archbishops, and subordinate clergy—and not only the church of Britain, but that of the sister isle also—still *living*, and not only *living* but *flourishing*—"being clean contrary to the church of Rome, not merely in the time of celebrating the Easter festival, but also in very many other usages which she followed and they did not;" not only rejecting her pretended authority, and condemning her novelties as superstition and idolatry, but even disclaiming all Chris-

* Equally sound, pure, and independent of any foreign jurisdiction as the church in England, was the church in Ireland at this time. Jonas, a Gallic bishop, who was contemporary with Bede, gives this testimony of them:—"Ireland," says he, "though it received not the laws by which the rest of the nations were governed, (he means the canon law and worship of Rome,) *yet so flourished in the vigour of Christian doctrine* as to exceed the faith of all the neighbouring nations."—*Life of Columbanus.*

tian fellowship with all who belonged to her communion; yea, having as great a contempt for her forms as for those of Pagans—and all this up to the days of Bede,—near the middle of the eighth century—yea, and much further, had we time to pursue the argument. Thus did she continue long independent, firm, and free, notwithstanding Italian craft, subtlety, intrigue, stratagem, secular power, royal favour, court influence, pious fraud, lying miracles, and all those other, either open forces or secretly undermining articles, which the church of Rome has never stuck at employing, from the first moment the demon of ambition seized her, and she turned usurper upon the liberties and privileges of her sister churches.

But I must not allow myself to declaim; I wish to put nothing but naked facts before you, leaving them to be altogether their own commentators.

To complete our subject, I have but one topic more briefly to touch; it is this,—that it was not, after all, the *Romish party*, but the native and Irish clergy who converted almost all the heptarchy. Bede's history onward from the passages last quoted, is little else than the details of the conversion of the respective kingdoms. Oswald, prince of Northumbria (whose kingdom included all northern England, and part of Scotland to Edinburgh,) being an exile from his very infancy, took refuge among the Irish Christians from the fury of an usurper. He was consequently educated as a Christian, and when he subsequently recovered his kingdom and established himself with great power on the Northumbrian throne, one of his first steps was to re-establish Christianity throughout his extensive dominions—not by force, however, but by persuasion. For this purpose he sent for missionaries from amongst those people who had been his religious instructors. "Aidan," says Bede, "a bishop of uncommon meekness, piety, and moderation, and having a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge," (because, forsooth, he was not of the communion of Rome,) "answered the call. He fixed his see at Landesfarn, which Oswald consigned to him. Vast numbers of the Scots (Irish) followed him daily into Britain." He was succeeded in the episcopal chair by Finan, and he again by Colman, both of the same nation with him, and of the same creed with the old national church of Britain; and it was by the zealous labours of these three successive prelates and their clergy, that the whole kingdom of Northumberland was evangelized. "The people, (says the historian, Bede,) flocked to hear the word gladly. The king himself, and his nobility, who had been brought up with him in the country of the missionaries, acted often as interpreters; churches were built everywhere, and (mark this! and it applies to all the other kingdoms of the heptarchy, as well as to Northumberland) *possessions and territories* were bestowed upon them by royal munificence for the institution of monasteries,"* which, in this age, were the great schools (or colleges) where the clergy were educated.

Such, briefly, is Bede's account of the re-establishment of the church in the kingdom of Northumberland; and this, in fact, led to the similar establishment of it throughout almost all the rest of England. Thus,

* Bede, book 3, c. 3.

again, as to the next great kingdom, Mercia (including all the midland counties), Peada, its king, marrying a Northumbrian princess, the granddaughter of Oswald, and daughter of Oswi, becomes a Christian, and receives as bishop of Mercia, Diuma, a prelate of the same race and creed *with*, and consecrated *by*, Finan; and under Bishop Diuma (the first bishop of Lichfield) and his three *successors*, members also of the old national church, assisted by the native clergy, all the midland counties (eighteen in number) were converted. Again, as to the kingdom of the East Saxons,—though the Romish missionaries had been received there awhile, yet it soon relapsed into idolatry and expelled Mellitus. However, Sigebert, its king, becoming a guest at the Northumbrian court, there becomes a Christian, receives St. Chad, consecrated by Finan as bishop of London, and chiefly by the labours of this eminent prelate and his three successors, all the modern diocese of London was reclaimed from heathenism. Fursey, an Irish monk, devoted himself to the evangelizing of East Anglia; so that every county from Edinburgh to the southern extremity of the diocese of London, except Suffolk and Norfolk, in which Felix, a Burgundian bishop in communion with the church of Rome laboured, has the full gratification of being indebted, not to Rome, but to native and Irish missionaries for the restoration of the Christian religion, *and the re-establishment of a Christian church.* And as regards the southern counties, they are all, with the exception of Kent (where, yet be it remembered, Austin found, upon his arrival, a Christian congregation,) though not entirely, yet very largely indebted, under God, to native piety and zeal for the greatest benefit that man can confer on man. The great kingdoms already converted had no small share in influencing the conversion of these. These are the plain unvarnished facts of Bede's history, stripped of the marvellous and legendary—of the fable and miracle—which the credulous age between Bede's time and their occurrence naturally *would* and *did* adorn them with.

(E.)

ECCLESIASTICAL PAPERS, AS TO ORDINATION.

DEACON'S ORDERS.

No person can be admitted a deacon till he has attained the age of twenty-three years complete; or a priest before he has attained the age of twenty-four years complete; and if the party shall have been ordained before attaining these respective ages, such ordination is void in law, and the party are incapable of holding any preferment. Canon 34, and 44 Geo. 3, c. 43.

The papers necessary to be sent to the bishop, by a candidate for deacon's orders, are:—

1st. The signification of his name, academical degree, and place of residence.

2ndly. Letters testimonial from his college; or if he has quitted col

* See Soames' Anglo-Saxon Church, p. 50, 51.

lege, he must, *in addition*, present letters testimonial, signed by three *beneficed* clergymen, and countersigned by the bishop of the diocese in which each of the subscribers to the testimonial is beneficed, if they are not beneficed in the diocese of the bishop to whom the testimonial is addressed; which letters testimonial are according to the following form.

Form of Letters Testimonial for Orders.

To the Right Reverend ....., by divine permission, Lord Bishop of .....

Whereas our well beloved in Christ, A. B. [*insert degree*], hath declared to us his intention of offering himself a candidate for the sacred office of a deacon, and for that end hath requested of us letters testimonial of his learning and good behaviour, we, therefore, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do testify that the said A. B. having been personally known to us for the space of .... (*for three years, or the period which has elapsed since he quitted college, must be specified,*) last past, hath, during that time, lived piously, soberly, and honestly, and diligently applied himself to his studies, nor hath he at any time, as far as we know or believe, held, written, or taught anything contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the united church of England and Ireland; and moreover, we believe him, in our consciences, to be a person worthy to be admitted to the sacred order of deacons.

In witness whereof, &c.

C. D. rector of .....
E. F. rector of .....
G. H. rector of .....

3rdly. A certificate from the Professor of having attended the divinity lectures.

4thly. A certificate of baptism from the register book of the parish where the candidate was baptized; which certificate is to be signed by the minister and churchwardens of such parish. Where the candidate's age is greater than appears from the register, as where time elapsed between his birth and baptism, his father or mother, or other competent person, must make an affidavit before a magistrate of the actual time of his birth, which affidavit is to be sent with the baptismal certificate.

5thly. Where the candidate has quitted college, notice, or *Si Quis*, and certificate of the same having been published in the church of the parish where he usually resides.

Form of Notice, or Si Quis.

Notice is hereby given that A. B. [*insert degree*], of .... college, Oxford, (*or* Cambridge, *as the case may be,*) and now resident in this parish, intends to offer himself a candidate for the holy office of a deacon, at the ensuing ordination of the Lord Bishop of .....; and if any person knows any just cause or impediment for which he ought not to be admitted into holy orders, he is now to declare the same, or to signify the same forthwith to the Lord Bishop of .....

Form of the Certificate of such Notice.

We do hereby certify that the above notice was publicly read by the undersigned C. D. in the parish church of ....., in the county of ....., during the time of divine service, on Sunday, the .... day of ..... last, (*or* instant, *as the case may be*,) and that no impediment was alleged.

Witness our hands, this, &c.

C. D. officiating minister.
E. F. churchwarden.

6th The nomination to serve as a title for orders.

Form of a Nomination to serve as a title for orders.

To the Right Reverend Father in God. ....., by divine permission, Lord Bishop of .....

These are to certify your lordship, that I, G. H., rector, (vicar, perpetual curate, &c.) of ....., in the county of ....., and your lordship's diocese of ....., do hereby nominate and appoint B. C., bachelor of arts (*or* other degree), to perform the office of a curate in my church of ..... aforesaid; and do promise to allow him the yearly stipend of .... pounds, for his maintenance in the same, with the surplice fees,* and the use of the rectory-house, garden, and offices;† and to continue him to officiate in my said church, until he shall be otherwise provided of some ecclesiastical preferment, unless, for any fault by him committed, he shall be lawfully removed from the same; and I hereby solemnly declare, that I do not fraudulently give this certificate to entitle the said B. C. to receive holy orders, but with a real intention to employ him in my said church, according to what is before expressed; and, pursuant to the Act of Parliament, I do hereby state that the said reverend ..... purposes to reside in my said rectory-house;‡ that the said reverend .....‡ does not serve any other parish as curate or incumbent, and has not any other ecclesiastical preferment, and does not hold any donative, perpetual curacy, or parochial chapelry, and does not officiate in any other church or chapel; and that the gross annual value of the said rectory is .... pounds.

Witness my hand, this .... day of ....., &c.

PRIEST'S ORDERS.

The papers necessary to be sent to the bishop by candidates are—

1. His letters of deacons orders (*not required, however, to be produced by a candidate, if ordained deacon by the same bishop.*)

His letters testimonial of sound doctrine, good life, and behaviour,

* If they are intended to be allowed.

† If the curate is not to reside in the rectory or vicarage-house, state why not—and whether he is to reside in the parish; if not, where he is to reside, and how far from the parish.

‡ Should be altered according to the fact; and if the curate has any preferment or any other cure, &c., the same must be specially stated and distinguished; and if the curate is to serve more than one church, the distance of each from his place of residence must be stated with precision.

during the time elapsed since his ordination as deacon, signed by three *beneficed* clergymen, and countersigned by the bishop of the diocese in which their benefices are respectively situate, if not beneficed in the diocese of the bishop to whom the candidate applies for ordination.

(See Form of Letters Testimonial for Orders.)

3. Notice, or *Si Quis*—with the certificate of such notice.

4. If the candidate was ordained deacon by the bishop of another diocese, he must produce a certificate of his baptism.

(See information on this point as to Deacon's Orders.)

5. If the candidate for priest's orders is not serving a curacy to which he is licensed, in the diocese of the bishop who is about to ordain, he must produce, with the other papers, a nomination to a curacy as a title.

(See Form of Nomination to serve as a Title for Orders.)

Where the candidate is presented to a rectory or vicarage, or nominated to a perpetual curacy, then the presentation or nomination must be sent as a title duly stamped and executed by the patron.

The requisites to be observed before ordination, are:—

1st. To take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. (1 Eliz. c. 1. and 1 Will. c. 8.) 2ndly. To subscribe the Articles of Religion. (13 Eliz. c. 12.) 3rdly. By Can. 3. to subscribe the three articles specified in the said canon respecting the king's supremacy, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion.

Canon 34. *The quality of such as are to be made ministers.*

No bishop shall henceforth admit any person into sacred orders which is not of his own diocese, except he be either of one of the Universities of this realm; or except he shall bring letters dimissory (so termed) from the bishop of whose diocese he is, and desiring to be a deacon, is three-and-twenty years old, and to be a priest four-and-twenty years complete, and hath taken some degree of school in either of the said Universities; or, at least, except he be able to yield an account of his faith in Latin, according to the Articles of Religion approved in the synod of the bishops and clergy of this realm, 1562; and to confirm the same by sufficient testimonies out of the holy scriptures; and except, moreover, he shall then exhibit letters testimonial of his good life and conversation, under the seal of some college of Cambridge or Oxford, where before he remained; or of three or four grave ministers, together with the subscription and testimony of other credible persons who have known his life and behaviour by the space of three years next before.

Canon 35. *The examination of such as are to be made ministers.*

The bishop, before he admit any person to holy orders, *shall diligently examine him in the presence of those ministers that shall assist him at the imposition of hands;* and if the said bishop have any lawful impediment, *he shall cause the said ministers carefully to examine every such person so to be ordered.* Provided that they who shall assist the bishop in examining and laying on of hands shall be of

his cathedral church, if they may conveniently be had, or other sufficient preachers of the same diocese, to the *number of three at least;* and if any bishop or suffragan shall admit any to sacred orders who is not so qualified, the archbishop of his province having notice thereof, and being assisted therein by one bishop, shall suspend the said bishop or suffragan so offending from making either deacons or priests for the space of two years.

Canon 36. *Subscriptions of such as are to be made ministers.*

No person shall hereafter be received into the ministry, nor either by institution or collation admitted to any ecclesiastical living, nor suffered to preach, to catechise, or to be a lecturer or reader of divinity in either University, or in any cathedral or collegiate church, city, or market-town, parish church, chapel, or in any other place within this realm, except he be licensed either by the archbishop or bishop of the diocese where he is to be placed, under their hands and seals, or by one of the two Universities, under their seal likewise; and except he shall first subscribe to these three Articles following, in such manner and sort as we have here appointed.

I. That the king's majesty, under God, is the only supreme governor of this realm; and of all other his highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within his majesty's said realms, dominions, and countries.

II. That the Book of Common Prayer, and the ordering of bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the Word of God, and that it may lawfully so be used, and that he himself will use the form in the said book prescribed in public prayer and administration of the sacraments, and none other.

III. That he alloweth the book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, in the convocation, holden at London, A. D. 1662; and that he acknowledge all and every the Articles therein contained, being in number thirty-nine, besides the ratification, to be agreeable to the Word of God.

To these three Articles, whosoever will subscribe, he shall, for the avoiding of all ambiguities, subscribe in this order and form of words, setting down both his Christian and surname—viz., I, N. M., do willingly, and *ex animo*, subscribe to these three Articles above-mentioned, and to all things that are contained in them. And if any bishop shall ordain, admit, or license any as is aforesaid, except he first have subscribed in manner and form as here we have appointed, he shall be suspended from giving of orders and licences to preach for the space of twelve months. But if either of the Universities shall offend therein, we leave them to the danger of the law and his majesty's censure.

An Act for the ministers of the church to be of sound religion.
(Anno 13 Eliz. chap. 12.)

IV. And that no person now permitted by any dispensation, or otherwise, shall retain any benefice with cure being under the age of one and twenty years, or not being deacon at least, or which shall not be admitted as aforesaid, within one year next after making this act, or within six months after he shall accomplish the age of four-and-twenty years, on pain that such his dispensation shall be merely void.

V. And none shall be made minister, or admitted to preach or administer the sacraments, being under the age of twenty-four years, nor unless he first bring to the bishop of that diocese, *from men known to the bishop to be of sound religion*, a testimonial, both of his *honest life and of his professing the doctrine expressed in the said Articles;* nor unless he be able to answer and render to the ordinary an account of his faith in Latin according to the said Articles, or *have special gift or ability to be a preacher*, nor shall be admitted to the order of deacon or ministry, unless he shall first subscribe to the said Articles.

(F.)

Our Saviour's notice of phylacteries allusive to future abuses of greater importance.—False ideas of relative holiness, applied by the Jews to the temple of God, by papists to idol temples, the shrines of the saints, their reliques and images.—Our Lord's picture of pharisaical religion the true type of popery.—Tradition abused more by papists than by the scribes.—The taking away the sacramental cup.—Many of Christ's parables allude to popery; particularly the evil eye, and the evil servant.

Our blessed Saviour's censure of the scribes and pharisees, for their pompous display of their PHYLACTERIES, and their superstitious confidence in them as *amulets or charms*, to keep the wearer from sin, as well as mischance and danger, seems to have a farther object. At least there is a far greater room for reproof of superstition in such things amongst the catholics than there ever was amongst the pharisees. The use of phylacteries took its rise from the command of God. (Numb. xv. 38; Deut. xxii. 12.) And the reason there assigned for the use of texts of scripture in such a manner, by a rude and illiterate people, was to keep them in perpetual mind of the greatness, goodness, and truth of the God of gods, from whose fear they were too apt to apostatize. But in our Saviour's time, though the Jews were cured of idolatry, they were not so of superstition, and the phylactery then in use* was a superfluous and superstitious invention, *added to the original precept*, in the same spirit of hypocrisy, and ostentation of superior sanctity, which pervaded the whole system of the pharisaical theology. They were worn *upon the forehead and upon the left hand*, and the very name, (which

* These were little rolls of parchment, wherein were written certain words of the law; they were contrived *in the true spirit of superstition* both with respect to *their form* and *manner of tying them on.*—See Calmet's Dic.

signifies *a preservative,*) as well as the same custom being in use amongst the heathens *as an amulet against evil,* shews that there was more of imitative superstition than religion in it.

The coincidence between the phylactery of the Jews and the CROSS worn by the papists with the very same superstitious idea of *preservation,* and too frequently with an idolatrous reverence, seems to infer a prophetic design in our Saviour's censure. The *cross* is suspended round the neck, and at the breast, and *the sign of the cross* is made *upon the forehead* and the *right hand* (exactly where St. John said the MARK OF THE BEAST should be made,) many times a day, and on every sudden emergency; but with what other possible view can it be, than as *a magical charm, or a phylactery?* Had such a continual *crossing of themselves* been an ordinance of Christ, yet still the putting that confidence in the outward sign itself, which is due only to him who gives it all the efficacy that it can have, is the way to turn a real sacrament into superstition and idolatry, as is actually the case in the pretended *sacrifice* of the mass.

The censure our Saviour passed upon the false ideas the Jews entertained of the relative *holiness of the temple, and the altar therein,* &c., and their groundless distinctions and ridiculous modes of absolution from oaths, may be considered also in the same light. For who does not see the much more profane superstition and absurd distinctions of the papists (set up upon the same footing of tradition), by prophetic anticipation hereby equally held up to contempt? Their *holy shrines* of the saints, *holy images, holy reliques,* and all the holy trumpery of their "refuge of lies," and whole mystery of iniquity, which obtain the greatest share of that divine worship and adoration that is only due to God himself.*

* In regard to the *worship of reliques* the Council of Trent decrees thus:—"That the faithful be instructed,—that the holy *bodies* of holy martyrs, &c., SHOULD BE WORSHIPPED BY THE FAITHFUL; whereby God affords many benefits unto men; so that they which say *worship and honour is not due to the reliques of saints;* or that those and other MONUMENTS are honoured by the faithful in vain; and that the monuments of the saints, for the obtaining of their help, are in vain frequented; are altogether to be condemned, *as the church hath long ago and now condemns them also.*"—Sess. 25. Decret. de Invocat. venerat. &c. Reliq. SS. &c.

Here, according to *the present established constitution of the church of Rome,* RELIQUES ARE TO BE WORSHIPPED, and *confidence* is to be placed in them *as divinities* capable of granting succour to the miserable supplicant. But as this had now somewhat more tender ground than formerly to stand upon, Bellarmine (who pleads stoutly for *religious worship of the saints, their reliques, and images,*) assigns, notwithstanding, for *these* a lower degree thereof, than for *their owner* whose images and reliques they are. But after all (says he) it is *reducible to the same kind of worship.*

Their distinctions between DULIA and LATRIA, the different kinds of worship, which, as above confest, comes all to the same thing at last, are to the full as frivolous and false as those our Saviour censured in the Jews.—Man of Sin, b. ii. p. 140. See Chemnitius Examen. Concil. Trident. part iv.

In order to make way *for the worship of these vanities,* they have far exceeded the boldness of the Jews, who *made void* the law of God through their traditions, for these have cancelled it altogether, *wholly leaving out* the second COMMANDMENT, *as words superfluous, or at least unfit and unnecessary for these times,* says

To so monstrous a pitch of extravagance was the idolatry of images carried, that the *image of the same idol* was esteemed of greater power, and attracted more pilgrims, and wrought more miracles, and drew a greater revenue of votive offerings, in one place than in another; for as there were several Jupiters, &c. amongst the pagans, so there are still a greater number of "Our Ladies," which are held in different degrees of estimation of holiness, but all of them more sought to than God and Christ.

The encomium which our Saviour delivers upon the doctrines and practices of the pharisees at large,* if it be compared with the similar doctrines and practices which prevail in the church of Rome, will speak for itself, whether at the time he must not be supposed to have had in view the pharisees of the antichristian apostacy? The monks and religious devotees of popery are there drawn with such strong features of likeness, as if in fact they had been the originals of the picture, and the Jewish pharisees only the copy. And they have taken as much pains to throw the pharisaical cloak about their own shoulders as if they had aimed at nothing less, and had been envious of the original wearers.

Like them, they make a great parade of the outward semblance of sanctity, but are truly like whited sepulchres. They have invented different orders of religions, and *imaginary badges of holiness*, without end. They bind heavy burthens for other men's shoulders, and know how to remit and take them off again *for a price*, which, (as far as we know,) is a great improvement upon their predecessors in hypocrisy. They *lord it over God's heritage* in a manner more imperious than the pharisees did, and exalt themselves to both spiritual and temporal dignities, by every artifice of imposture. One remarkable point of affinity between them is, that they also "shut up the kingdom of heaven against men," and neither enter themselves nor suffer any (whom they can hinder) to enter in; but, content to remain in the darkness of lucrative error themselves, they compel others to abide with them and keep them in countenance. They "devour widows' houses," and swallow up in the church the inheritances of the dying, "and for a show make long prayers," and that for the *dead* as well as the living. In which tedious *opus operatum* they are obliged to make a quick despatch, and make use of beads to keep a just account. By this religious trifling they succeed in deceiving perhaps their own consciences, but certainly their flock. They "compass sea and land to make one proselyte," but as it is *a conversion from good to bad*, (for comparatively with popery any system of religion is good,) they only make their convert a bigot, and put him in a worse condition.

The false and frivolous distinctions in their casuistry, and their *penances* and *absolutions*, and the whole system of *auricular confession*, are equally destitute of *law, judgment, mercy*, and *faith*, with those of the scribes and pharisees. For while they make a prodigious ado about a bit of

Sir Edwin Sandys. For the benefit of English catholics it is so omitted in the "Horæ beat. Virg." fol. 185, and in the "Primmer, or Office of the Blessed Virgin," Latin and English, printed at Antwerp, 1599. The number of ten is fraudulently still kept up by dividing the tenth into two.—Man of Sin, p. 145.

* Math. xxiii.; Mark, xii. 28; Luke, xx. 45.

meat on a fast day, they make no difficulty at all in giving absolution and sanctuary to criminals, and demanding free pardon for the most atrocious assassin. Their *outward cleanness* and *inward extortion* is the same as our Lord so indignantly paints. His strong accusation of "building the tombs of the prophets, and adorning the sepulchres of the righteous," or "the SAINTS," they have taken to themselves in the most notorious manner; only with this difference (to their own disadvantage) that their saints, for the greater part, are false ones, that either *never existed at all*, or *were everything the reverse of true saintship*, and, like Thomas à Becket, were martyrs to the BEAST, and not to Christ. There is also a further difference, and they pay to these false saints *an idolatrous devotion*, which the scribes and pharisees did not do, in the honours they paid to the true saints. Yet they have stuck true to their text, and trod in the bloody steps of their predecessors in persecuting and murdering the real prophets and witnesses of Jesus, while they idolize the mock saints of Antichrist. And this they do upon *the very same principle* as the Jews did, and after our Saviour has with his own mouth, in plain words, and not in a figure, pronounced a condemnation upon it. "Whosoever killeth you, shall think that he doeth God service," in having destroyed an heretic

To conclude the comparison;—the modern pharisees have also now nearly filled up the measure of their fathers, by persisting in *their* errors, and justifying *their* deeds. And they have now nothing to look for *but a fiery indignation*, and a reward, in a just measure of retaliation, of their own enormous cruelty and bloodshed. Observe only, how the very language of the meek and charitable Jesus assumes a vehemence and bitterness unusual to him, but very suitable to the *then present* objects of his indignation, and still more so to those which were *in after times* to become such:—"Ye serpents!—ye generation of vipers!—how shall ye escape the damnation of hell?"

In many of his conferences with the pharisees, our Lord charges them with wilful blindness, and *rejecting the offered light from corrupt motives, and with evil designs*, and threatens them that it shall be taken away from them, and that they shall be punished with a *judicial blindness*, the prelude of their ruin. St. Paul has distinguished his apostate Christians by the same token, alleging that they "handled the word of God deceitfully for filthy lucre's sake;" with conviction of their wickedness flashing in their faces, but with consciences *seared* against feeling. And he adds, that they, in like manner as the Jews, should be given up in judgment and wrath to blind prejudice and bigotry to their own error, and thus become themselves the victims of the delusion they had practised upon others, and should *believe their own lie*.

The corruptions which the scribes had introduced into both speculative and practical religion, by a devotion to the *authority of tradition*, which they advanced above that of the scripture itself, is yet nothing to compare with the monstrous iniquity of the popish system, drawn from the same sources of TRADITION, so justly and sharply condemned in their predecessors' abuse of it. For in the very face of our Saviour's confutation of the scribes, in their "making void the law of God through their traditions," and teaching both the duty due to our fellow creatures and

the fear of God, "by the precept of men," they have carried their unwarrantable licentiousness to a much higher pitch, and have enacted, by a decree of the Council of Trent, "that the truth and discipline of the catholic church are comprehended *both* in the sacred books, (in which they include the Apocrypha) and in *the traditions*, which have been (pretendedly) received from the mouth of Jesus Christ himself, or of his apostles, (but in honest truth have been *wholly of papal fabrication*,) and preserved and transmitted to us by an uninterrupted chain and succession."*

Our Saviour's parable of the great absurdity of a man *after he hath lighted a candle immediately covering it with a bushel*, that no one may be benefited by the light of it, seems evidently to allude to something beyond the merely temporary subject of his discourse with the Jews at that time; and there never was anything commensurable to it, except the contemptuous and injurious treatment of the word of God, exactly in that manner, by *the pretended master of the house*, THE POPE. Nothing can be more to the purpose than the pains that have been taken to withhold the light of the scripture from the people, by prohibiting a translation, and every way discouraging the reading of the scripture; putting it absolutely under the pope's feet, to give as little credit and

* The authority of these traditions (and the abominable doctrines founded upon them, but in contradiction to the word of God) is thus well described by Petrus a Soto:—"It is," says he, "an infallible and catholic rule, that whatsoever things the church of Rome believeth, which are not to be found in scripture, *the same came by tradition from the apostles*." And he adds, "that if it has antiquity on its side, and no certain origin of it can be traced, then *without doubt* it is apostolical. To require proof of this, be the doctrine ever so monstrous which is so established, were rank heresy."

They found the authenticity and authority of the scripture upon *tradition and the authority of the church*, that is, *of the pope*. For Gregory de Valencia, in his Disput. Theolog. tom. iii. Disp. i., declares, that "by the church we must understand *her head*, the bishop of Rome, in whom resideth the full authority of the church, when he pleaseth to determine matters of faith, whether he do it with a council or without." Thomas Aquinas maintains, that "the right of making *a new creed* appertains to the pope; yea, the whole authority of the whole church resides in him." T. Aquin. xxii. 9, 1 art. x. To which doctrine agree Andradius, in his Defence of the Counc. of Trent; Graffus, Alvarus, Pelagius, and Bellarmine. The same was long ago challenged by their CANON LAW, which in the sixth extrav. of Pope John XXII. Tit. 14, *cum inter*, in the Gloss, says, "It were heresy to think or imagine that our LORD GOD THE POPE might not decree as he doth."

It is no wonder they give so much weight to tradition and make the pope the gaoler of the scriptures, since they freely confess that their doctrine has no foundation in scripture, and that a pediment to support it must be made on purpose out of the MIRY CLAY OF TRADITION. "Multo maxima pars evangelii pervenit ad nos TRADITIONE, perexigua literis est mandata," says Hosius Confess. cap. xcii. and Eckius, Enchir. cap. iv. de scrip. "The much greater part of the *gospel* is conveyed to us by TRADITION, for a very little thereof is contained in the scriptures." So Canus, Locor. lib. cap. iii. admonishes his popish confederates that "there is more strength to confute heretics in *traditions* than in the scriptures, yea, all disputations with them must be determined by traditions." And Bristow, in his MOTIVES, bids them first get the proud heretic out of his weak and false castle of ONLY SCRIPTURE, into the plain field of traditions, councils, fathers, miracles, &c." and then——. Hist. Pop. vol. ii. p. 194.

authority to it as suits his own purpose; setting up doctrines and practices contradictory to it, upon *other authority superior to scripture;* and where translation must be admitted, fouling the pure stream of the waters of life with their feet, with their corrupt tampering, disguising, interpolation, and omission; making it, as they blasphemously and contemptuously speak of it, A NOSE OF WAX. "Seemeth it a small thing unto you, (says the prophet Ezekiel, of the same, or similar corrupt practices) to have eaten up the good pasture, but ye must tread down with your feet the residue of your pastures? and to have drunk of the deep waters, but ye must foul the residue with your feet? And as for my flock, they eat that which ye have trodden with your feet; and they drink that which ye have fouled with your feet."* But "every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved," as our Saviour said again; and the astonishing discoveries of the dark and wicked impositions that had been practised upon the credulity and false devotion of the people, (that were made as soon as the light of the scriptures began again to shine,) is the best comment upon these words, and perhaps was a principal part of their meaning.

To such dark and wicked practices, and antichristian doctrines, issuing forth from *the fountain of popish light*, the SUN of their ecclesiastical heavens, there seems also a manifest allusion in the strong caution our Lord gives to his disciples, (the proposed teachers of the world,) to take heed to themselves *how they hear*, or accept doctrines proposed to them, and *what* they themselves *teach to others.* "The light of the body is the eye. If thine eye be single (no artificial obstruction in it, no unwillingness to see,) thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!"† If the HEAD OF THE CHURCH be a source of corruption of manners and darkness of doctrine, if he labours to propagate falsehood and to suppress truth, it is no wonder we have packed councils set to work, and all the engines of worldly power and diabolical subtlety employed to set up again the *kingdom of darkness.* The light must be kept back, and *covered with a bushel*, until the time shall come when *bolder matters may be attempted*, even to a total extinction of it. For the organ of vision is itself diseased, and darkness is indispensable to it. The whole body of popery is consequently full of darkness, and *how great is that darkness!*

It has been remarked by many, with what a very particular injunc-

* Ezek. xxxiv. 18.

† . . . . . I have endeavoured to shew that *the eye* is a prophetic emblem of the *oculus ecclesiæ*, or *eye of the church*, as the pope would fain be esteemed, because he contains in himself the whole power of vision in spiritual things, and (*even without a council*) *is infallible in whatever he decrees.* He is above councils, and above scripture, and is the fountain of their authority to both. Daniel, in giving "eyes like the eyes of a man" to his little horn, has therefore noticed a very pre-eminently distinguishing feature of the POPEDOM. There is every reason in the world to suppose the same prophetic allusion to this jaundiced *oculis mundi* (eye of the world) in the above parable of our blessed Saviour, who quoted Daniel as a great prophet.

tion Christ delivered to his disciples the sacramental cup at the holy supper. "Take this, and divide it among yourselves." (Luke, xxii. 17.) "Drink ye ALL of it." (Matt. xxvi. 27.) And I think there can be no mistake in ascribing to his divine prescience of future abuse his so positive injunction to them to *do this, as he had then done before them* for a perpetual example, so long as the use of that holy ordinance should continue in the church, that they might never vary from the form he then prescribed to them, of *eating bread and drinking wine*, as a memorial and emblem of his death suffered on their account.

St. Paul, not having had the happiness of being present at the Lord's supper, yet for the purpose of correcting some profanation which had crept into the celebration of it, in a very dissolute city, had an account of the exact manner of its institution conveyed to him by immediate revelation. No doubt his representation of it is therefore given with the utmost precision, and that he was supernaturally guided in doing it, that it might be guarded both against the present abuses and those errors of still worse consequence which were hereafter to arise. "The Lord Jesus (says he) in the same night that he was betrayed, took bread, &c. Likewise after supper he took the cup, saying, drink ye ALL of this, for this is my blood of the New Testament." The wine is as much sacramental of the divine and everlasting sanction of the new covenant, in the expiatory death of Christ, as the bread is, and therefore both are again expressly enjoined as equally necessary to all. "For as often as ye do eat of this bread, AND DRINK OF THIS CUP, ye do shew forth (after the perfect pattern) the sacramental representation of the Lord's death." (1 Cor. xi. 25.)

Well might Daniel make it a particular note of the ferocious little horn with three crowns on his cap, and eyes of a man, that "he should think to change times and laws," and should actually succeed in doing so, "for they should be given into his hand." And it is with as good reason that St. John and St. Paul also endow him with an equally uncontrollable tyranny and blasphemous authority of doing whatever he pleases (as utterly LAWLESS) against the ordinances of God, and the laws of nature, and of all mankind. For what a presumptuous sacrilegious audacity is it in him flatly to contradict God Almighty in his commandments, *by cancelling one of his laws*, even the first and highest of them, to the setting up again of idolatry which he has abolished? and in his positive institutions changing the ordinance of Christ, *by abolishing one half of it*, and transubstantiating the other half into a piece of flesh, to make it an object of idolatrous worship!

I will close my observations upon the prophetic notice our Lord has taken of the great mystery of iniquity, with his parable of THE IDLE SERVANT. (Luke, xii.) "Who then is that faithful and wise steward, whom his Lord shall make ruler over his household, to give them their portion of meat in due season?" To administer the affairs of his church with that anxious solicitude for the advantage of his spiritual family which constitutes the character of a good steward; and that wise economy in dispensing faithfully to all what the Master has provided for them, without respect of persons. "Blessed is that servant whom his Lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing."

Here is the picture of a pious and holy Christian bishop, indeed!—and such were some of the early bishops of Rome, of whom many suffered martyrdom under the pagan emperors. But when the pressure of affliction was removed, and affluence poured in upon the church with too sudden and copious a stream,—sævior armis, luxuria incubuit,—"Luxury, more fatal than arms, effected what persecution could not." Insolence of arbitrary authority, thirst of supremacy, and imposture to support unfounded pretensions, soon followed, and antichrist grew up to his full stature and maturity in wickedness.

"But and if that servant say in his heart my Lord delayeth his coming,* and shall begin to beat the men servants and maidens, and to eat and drink and be drunken." Here is as plain an intimation as the time and the hearers of our Lord could well bear, of *the nature of the change that would be introduced by state and grandeur*, and of the *infidelity* and *arrogance* first, and next of the *turbulent spirit* and actual *persecution*, which succeeded more Christian-like manners "in the scornful men of Sion," the rulers of the catholic church. Last of all, the blood of Christian martyrs began again to flow, in more copious streams, by the cruelties of a Christian persecutor, than ever it had done before by the utmost fury of the PAGAN DRAGON. The wretch is *drunken*, (as our Saviour says in the parable, in allusion to the prophets which have described the same events,) but it is WITH BLOOD! "Stay yourselves, and wonder,—cry ye out, (with horror!) and cry, they are drunken,—but not with wine; they stagger,—but not with strong drink."† "And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus. And when I saw her—(a Christian church become a bloody persecutor of Christians)—I wondered with great astonishment!"‡

Our Lord proceeds thus to relate the sequel. "The Lord of that servant will come (though he delay a great while) in a day when he looketh not for him, and at an hour when he is not aware, and will cut

* Tempora matantur, et nos mutamur cum illis,—"Times are changed; a change will be very requisite in us too,"—soon became the ruling idea of the LORDLY PONTIFFS; a great many of them construed their Lord's delay of his coming in deserved chastisement, into actual incapacity to punish, and adopted *atheistical opinions* as most congenial to their execrable practices.

† Isaiah, xxix. 9.

‡ Rev. xvii. 6.—That savage spirit of a diabolical enthusiasm which impels mankind to imbrue their hands in *the blood* of guiltless persons, on the pretence of religion, is spiritually compared to an intoxication, and that of a singular and horrible description,—a furious madness, the effect *not of strong drink but of blood*. The holy Spirit condescends in this, as in other instances, to the popular opinion of the world, that carnivorous wild beasts derive their *ferocious cruelty* from their diet of living blood. The same figure is made use of in a still bolder manner, to represent the vengeance of Heaven upon the apostate persecutor of the faithful. "I will *feed* them that oppress thee with *their own flesh*, and they shall be *drunken with their own blood* as with sweet wine." (Isai. xlix. 26.) The same figure is also applied to Jerusalem. (Isai. li. 21.) See sect. xii. p. 321.

Mr. Bruce, in his Travels, vol. iii. p. 142, gives an account of the flesh of animals being eaten in Abyssinia not only raw but quivering with life, being cut from the body of the animal still alive. He mentions a disease produced by so horrible a diet.

him asunder,* and will appoint him his portion with the unbelievers." David, in the fiftieth Psalm, alludes to this infidel presumption of THE WICKED ONE, upon this long forbearance of God's judgments against such accumulated impieties. "Thou thoughtest wickedly that I am such an one as thyself, but I will reprove thee, and set before thee the things that thou hast done." Thy confident security and pride shall have a fall, and thou shalt see thy long forgotten crimes reflected in thy punishment.

I have little doubt, then, that in some (if not in all) of these instances I have cited from the discourses of our Lord, most people will agree with me in thinking that he had a prophetic meaning; and that the great apostacy afterwards to arise in his church, and which had been the subject of many prophecies before his time, and would again employ the prophetic pen after his departure, was on such occasions in his eye. That he designedly so framed his discourse, that a comparison so strikingly obvious might be drawn at length, and most of the errors of the corrupt church stand confuted by the express words of Jesus Christ himself.†—Ettrick's "Second Exodus."

(G.)

Extracts from Dr. Hartley's Observations on Man.—Printed 1749.

How near the dissolution of the present governments, generally or particularly, may be, would be great rashness to affirm. Christ will come in this sense also, "as a thief in the night." Our duty is therefore to watch and to pray; to be faithful stewards; to give meat, and all other requisites, in due season, to those under our care; and to endeavour, by these and all other lawful means, to preserve the government, under whose protection we live, from dissolution, seeking the peace of it, and submitting to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake. No prayers, no endeavours of this kind, can fail of having some good effect, public or private, for the preservation of ourselves and others.

* Perhaps Rev. xvii. 19, (when the world shall see the actual accomplishment of that prophecy) may afford an explanation of this figurative punishment of the EVIL SERVANT—*cutting asunder*,—by which, as a peculiar phrase, something very particular seems intended. In consequence of the effects of the six preceding plagues, in the seventh *the great city* (or papal confederacy) is rent, by a schism more terrible than any before experienced, into THREE PARTS, and the remaining dependent kingdoms fall off from their spiritual subjection, and ruin ensues.

† The parables of the *husbandman and the vineyard*, the *barren fig tree*, &c. I consider as being of the nature of double prophecies. They apply, in the first sense, to the unbelieving Jews, and the fall of Jerusalem; but they are also applicable to *the antichristian husbandman and fig tree*, and their extirpation. Of our Saviour's reproof of the *fastings* of the pharisees, their love of *long robes* and *chief seats*, &c. I have taken no notice; but *the distinction of meats*, and other popish absurdities, are by St. Paul reckoned amongst the "doctrines of devils." And the *habits of the religious orders*, and *pomp of priestly vestments in popery*, are notoriously absurd, as Erasmus and many others of their own communion have acknowledged.

The great dispensations of Providence are conducted by means that are either secret, or, if they appear, that are judged feeble and inefficacious. No man can tell, however private his station may be, but his fervent prayer may avail to the salvation of much people. But it is the duty of magistrates thus to watch over their subjects, to pray for them, and to set about the reformation of all matters, civil and ecclesiastical, to the utmost of their power.—p. 368.

There are many prophecies which declare the fall of the ecclesiastical powers of the Christian world. And though each church seems to flatter itself with the hopes of being exempted, yet it is very plain that the prophetical characters may belong to all. They have all left the pure, true, and simple religion, and teach for doctrines the commandments of men. 'Tis very true that the church of Rome is "Babylon the great and mother of harlots," and of the "abominations of the earth." But all the rest have copied her example more or less. They have all received money like Gehazi; and therefore the leprosy of Naaman will cleave to them, and to their seed for ever. And this impurity may be considered, not only as justifying the application of the prophecies of the Christian churches, but as a natural cause for their downfal. The corrupt governors of the several churches will ever oppose the true gospel, and in so doing will bring ruin upon themselves.—p. 371.

As the downfal of the Jewish state, under Titus, was the occasion of the publication of the gospel to us Gentiles, so our downfal may contribute to the restoration of the Jews, and both together bring on the final publication and prevalence of the true religion. Thus the type and the thing typified will coincide. The first fruits and the lump are made holy together.—p. 375.

The downfal of the civil and ecclesiastical powers must be both attended with such public calamities as will make men serious, and also drive them from the countries of Christendom into the remote parts of the world, particularly into the East and West Indies, &c., whither, consequently, they will carry their religion, purified from its present errors and superstitions.—p. 377.

The degeneracy of the court of Rome, and secular bishops abroad, are too notorious to be mentioned. They almost cease to give offence, as they scarce pretend to any function or authority besides what is temporal. Yet still there is great mockery of God in their external pomp, and profanation of sacred titles, which, sooner or later, will bring down vengeance upon them. And as the court of Rome has been at the head of the great apostacy and corruption of the Christian church, and seems evidently marked out in various places of the scriptures, the severest judgments are probably reserved for her.—p. 450.

But I rather choose to speak to what falls under the observation of all serious attentive persons in this kingdom (Britain.) The superior clergy are in general ambitious, and eager in the pursuit of riches; flatterers of the great, and subservient to party interest; negligent of their own immediate charges, and also of the inferior clergy, and what ought to be their immediate charges.

The inferior clergy imitate their superiors, and, in general, take little

more care of their parishes than barely what is necessary to avoid the censure of the law. And the clergy of all ranks are in general either ignorant, or, if they do apply, it is rather to profane learning, to philosophical or political matters, than to the study of the scriptures, of the oriental languages of the fathers and ecclesiastical authors, and of the writings of devout men in different ages of the church.

I say this is in general the case;—i. e., far the greater part of the clergy are of this stamp: but there are some quite of a different character,—men eminent for piety, sacred learning, and the faithful discharge of their duty; and who, it is not to be doubted, mourn in secret for the crying sins of this and other nations.

The clergy in general are also far more free from open and gross vices than any other denomination of men amongst us, physicians, lawyers, merchants, soldiers, &c.; however, this may be otherwise hereafter, for it is said that in some foreign countries the superior clergy, in others the inferior, are as corrupt and abandoned, or more so, than any other order of men.

The clergy in this kingdom seem to be what one might expect from the mixture of good and bad influences that affect them. But then, if we make this candid allowance for them, we must and should also make it for persons in the high ranks of life, for their infidelity, lewdness, and sordid self-interest; and although it becomes an humble, charitable, and impartial man, to make all these allowances, yet he cannot but see that the judgments of God are ready to fall upon us all for these things, and that they may fall first, and with the greatest weight, upon those who, having the highest offices in the spiritual kingdom of Christ committed to them, neglect it, and are become mere merchants of the earth, and shepherds, that feed themselves and not their flocks, seems no unjust nor unreasonable supposition.

These are my real and earnest sentiments upon these points. It would be great rashness to fix a time for the breaking of the storm that hangs over our heads, as it is blindness and infatuation not to see it, nor to be aware that it may break. And yet this infatuation has always attended all falling states. The kingdoms of Judah and Israel, which are the types of all the rest, were thus infatuated. It may be that the prophecies concerning Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, Egypt, &c., will become applicable to particular kingdoms before their fall, and warn the good to flee. And Christendom in general seems ready to assume to itself the place and lot of the Jews, after they had rejected their Messiah, the Saviour of the world. Let no one deceive himself, or others. The present circumstances of the world are extraordinary and critical, beyond what has ever yet happened. If we refuse to let Christ reign over us, as our Redeemer and Saviour, we must be slain before his face, as enemies, at his second coming.—p. 455.

(H.)

Extract from Dr. John Gill's Sermon, preached December 27, 1752.

Psalm, lxxxvi. 3.

The destruction of antichrist will be by the spirit of Christ's mouth, and the brightness of his coming; that is, by his coming in a spiritual way, or through the word of his mouth, his gospel attended by his spirit and power, which will shine out with so much lustre, splendour, light, and glory, as will chase away the darkness of popery, and enlighten the minds of people to see into all the fopperies, absurdities, and wickedness, of that religion.

This work will be greatly effected by the pouring out the seven vials of God's wrath, or the inflicting the seven last plagues upon the antichristian states, upon the western and eastern antichrist, the pope and Turk, who must be both removed to make way for the spiritual reign of Christ.

The first five of these vials concern the western antichrist and his dominions, between which and the trumpets there is a great correspondence, though they respect different times and persons. The first vial will be poured out upon the earth, and designs those popish countries which are upon the continent, as France, &c.; and as the first trumpet brought the Goths into Germany, so the first vial will bring great distress upon the popish party, and issue in a reformation from popery. The second vial will be poured out upon the sea, and may intend the maritime powers belonging to the see of Rome, particularly Spain and Portugal; and as the second trumpet brought the Vandals into these places, so this vial will effect the same, and bring wars and desolations into them, and make a change in their religion. The third vial will be poured out upon the rivers and fountains of waters, which may point to those places adjacent to Rome, as Italy and Savoy; and as the third trumpet brought the Huns into those parts, so this vial will bring in large armies hither, which will cause much bloodshed, and a great revolution in church and state. The fourth vial will be poured out upon the sun, which must denote some person or persons of great dignity and influence; and, as the fourth trumpet brought destruction upon the emperor of Rome, the sun of the empire, and upon governors under him, signified by the moon and stars, this vial will bring on the ruin of the pope of Rome, the sun of the antichristian empire, with all his cardinals, bishops, priests, &c.

Now these several vials, as they will be so many plagues on the western antichrist, and make so many breaches and ruins upon his states and dominions, so they will be so many gradual steps to the advancement of the glory and kingdom of Christ, and issue in the reformation of these places from popery. The sixth vial will be poured out on the river Euphrates, which designs the Turkish empire, in the midst of which that river is; and as the sixth trumpet let loose the four angels, or heads of the Ottoman family, into Europe, so this vial affects the same

empire, and brings destruction on it, signified by the drying up the waters of that river, as Babylon's destruction is expressed by the drying up of her sea, (Jer. li. 36.,) which will make way for the kings or kingdoms of the east, the kingdoms of Persia, and Tartary, and others, to receive and embrace the Christian religion: this is the second, or Turkish woe, which shall pass away, when the kingdoms of this world will become Christ's, and his dominion will be from sea to sea, from the Mediterranean sea to the Persian sea, and from the river Euphrates to the ends of the earth. The seventh vial will be poured out upon the air, the whole kingdom of Satan, in all the branches of it, who is the prince of the power of the air; and this vial will clear the whole world of all the remains of Christ's enemies, pagan, papal, and Mahometan, which the other vials left, or did not reach; and now will Christ's kingdom be in its full glory. Now the heathens, papists, pagans, and Mahometans, will perish out of his land, and these sorts of sinners will be consumed out of the earth, and such wicked ones will be no more.

But I must not forget the conversion of that considerable body of people, the Jews, who have been preserved a distinct people for several hundred years for this purpose; the conversion of these people will be sudden, and of them altogether a nation shall be born at once. It looks as if their conversion would be like that of the apostle Paul; and he seems to hint that it will, when he says, that he, in obtaining mercy, was a pattern to them which should hereafter believe.

There will be great peace and prosperity of all kinds, inward and outward, spiritual and temporal; in those days of the Messiah's spiritual reign shall the righteous flourish, and abundance of peace so long as the moon endureth; violence shall no more be heard in their land, nor wasting and destruction within their borders.

(I.)

Extracts from Bishop Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies. 1760.

"NOTWITHSTANDING the general current in her favour (meaning the church of Rome), the tide shall turn against her; and the hands which helped to raise her shall also pull her down. The ten horns shall hate her,—that is, by a common figure of the whole for a part, some of the ten kings, for others shall bewail and lament for her, and shall fight and perish in the cause of the beast. Some of the kings who formerly loved her, grown sensible of her exorbitant exactions and oppressions shall hate her, shall strip, and expose, and plunder her, and utterly consume her with fire." Rome, therefore, will finally be destroyed by some of the princes who are reformed, or shall be reformed, from popery; and as the kings of France have contributed greatly to her advancement, it is not impossible, nor improbable, that, some time or other, they may also be the principal authors of her destruction. France hath already shewn some tendency towards a reformation, and therefore may appear more likely to effect such a revolution. Such a revolution may reasonably be

expected, because this infatuation of popish princes is permitted by divine Providence only for a certain period, until the words of God shall be fulfilled, and particularly the words of the prophet Daniel: "They shall be given into his hand, until a time and times, and the dividing of time." But then, as it immediately follows, "the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end." "The fall of Rome, in the latter days," is delineated as of another Babylon, and it is declared that she shall be destroyed by fire, and her destruction shall be a complete and total destruction, such as hath never yet been the fate of Rome; after the subversion of the capital city, the beast, and the false prophet, the powers civil and ecclesiastical, with those who still adhere to their party, shall make one effort more, but it shall prove as weak and vain as it is impious.—Vol. iii. p. 404.

"A tradition hath prevailed among the Jews, that the destruction of Rome, and the redemption of Israel, shall fall out about the same time.

"When these great events shall come to pass, of which we collect from the prophecies this to be the proper order, the protestant witnesses shall be greatly exalted, and the 1260 years of their prophesying in sackcloth, and the tyranny of the beasts, shall end together, the conversion and restoration of the Jews succeed, then follows the ruin of the Ottoman empire, and then the total destruction of Rome and antichrist."—Vol. iii. p. 406.

"There are instances of prophecies delivered about 3000 years ago, and yet, as we see, fulfilling in the world at this very time; and what stronger proofs can we desire of the divine legation of Moses? How these instances may affect others, I know not; but for myself, I must acknowledge, they not only convince but amaze and astonish me beyond expression. They are truly, as Moses foretold they would be, a sign and a wonder for ever."—Vol. i. p. 199.

"This is only one argument out of many, that there must be a divine revelation, if there is any truth in prophecy; and there must be truth in prophecy, as we have shewn in several instances, and might shew in several more, if there is any dependence upon the testimony of others, or upon our own senses, upon what we read in books, or what we see in the world.

"Alas! if you reject the evidence of prophecy, neither would you be persuaded, though one should rise from the dead. What can be plainer? You see, or may see, with your own eyes, the scripture prophecies accomplished; and if the scripture prophecies are accomplished, the scripture must be the word of God; and if the scripture is the word of God, the Christian religion must be true."—Vol. iii. p. 442.

Dr. Newton continues:—"You have heard of the two greatest men whom this country, or perhaps the world, ever produced—the Lord Bacon and Sir Isaac Newton; the one wishing for a history of the several prophecies of scripture compared with the events, the other writing observations upon the prophecies of Daniel, and the Apocalypse of St. John; and the testimony of two such (not to mention others) is enough to weigh down the authority of all the infidels who ever lived. There is nothing inconsistent in science and religion, but a great philosopher may be a good Christian. True philosophy is, indeed, the handmaid to true

religion; and the knowledge of the works of nature will lead one to the knowledge of the God of nature; the invisible things of him being clearly seen by the things which are made; even his eternal power and godhead."

(K.)

Signs of the Present and Future Times.—Dr. Porteus, Bishop of London. 1794.

Vide a Charge to the Diocese of London.

"THE present times, and the present scene of things, in almost every part of the civilized world, are the most interesting and the most awful that were ever before presented to the inhabitants of the earth, and such as must necessarily excite the most serious reflections in every thinking mind. Perhaps all those singular events to which we have been witnesses, unparalleled as they undoubtedly are in the page of history, may be only the beginning of things, may be only the first leading steps to a train of events still more extraordinary, to the accomplishment, possibly, of some new and unexpected, and at present unfathomable designs, hitherto reserved and hid in the counsels of the Almighty. Some we know there are, who think that certain prophecies, both in the New Testament and the Old, are now fulfilling; that the signs of the times are portentous and alarming; and that the sudden extinction of a great monarchy (France) and of all the splendid ranks and orders of men that supported it, is only the completion in part of that prediction in the gospel, that the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, before the second appearance of the Messiah to judge the earth; all which expressions are well known to be only figurative emblems of the great powers and rulers of the world, whose destruction, it is said, is to precede that great event. As to myself, I pretend not to decide on these arduous points. I pretend not either to prophesy or to interpret prophecy; nor shall I take upon myself to pronounce whether we are now approaching (as some think) to that millennium, or day of judgment, or to any other great, and tremendous, and universal change, predicted in the sacred writings. But this I am sure of, that the present unexampled state of the Christian world is a loud and powerful call upon all men,—but upon us above all men, to take peculiar heed to our ways, and to prepare ourselves for everything that may befal us, be it ever so novel, ever so calamitous."

In one of this bishop's sermons, preached at St. George's church, Hanover-square, but probably not published, he is said to have remarked, —"That that man must be a very superficial observer indeed, who could not perceive in the present wars something of a very uncommon nature;" adding, from his own calculations, founded on the prophetic writings, he thought "the happy period called the millennium was not then more than sixty years distant at the most."

(L.)

Universal Extent of the Grand Apostacy.—Sir Isaac Newton. 1718.

All nations have corrupted the Christian religion since its setting up. The giving ear to the prophets is a fundamental character of the true church. The authority of emperors, kings, and princes, is human; the authority of councils, synods, bishops, and presbyters, is human; the authority of the prophets is divine, and comprehends the sum of religion, reckoning Moses and the apostles among the prophets. And if an angel from heaven preach any other gospel than what they have delivered, let him be accursed. (Gal. i. 8, 9.) Their writings contained the covenant between God and his people, with instructions for keeping the covenant, instances of God's judgments upon them that break it, and predictions of things to come. While the people of God keep the covenant, they continue to be his people; when they break it, they cease to be his people or church, and become the synagogue of Satan, who say they are Jews, and are not. (Rev. ii. 9.) And no power on earth is authorized to alter this covenant.

(M.)

Mr. Christopher Love's Opinions.

A few nights after he was sentenced to be beheaded on Tower-hill, which was on the 22nd day of August, 1651, ten days before his appointed time, by the sentence he received at the bar, being one night visited by two of his intimate acquaintances, or bosom friends, as he himself called them, they began to complain of the cruelties of the times, and the malice and usage of time-serving brethren; to which Mr. Love answered, "And think you this is an evil time? No, no; this is the very time when grace and true godliness can be distinguished from hypocrisy; many have followed Christ hitherto for the loaves, and are now turned back for the roughness of the way, and the sore trial and tribulation which others met with who are gone before them.

"There are many in London at this very day who think to go to heaven in their gilded coaches, and have denied Christ's cause before men (against whom I now witness,) and Christ in his never-failing word has promised to deny all such before his Father and the holy angels. This is the time to discern between him that serveth God and him that serveth him not. They formerly were my familiar acquaintance, in fellowship and sweet converse. I sent this day to have a few words with them here in the prison, but they would not come; for their countenance is fallen, their consciences wounded; they cannot look me in the face, because I knew of their resolution, and was a witness to their perjuration. But, ah! how will they look the blessed Jesus in the face in the morning of the resurrection? what answer or excuse will they have for what they have done? O, foolish people, who think to escape

the cross, and come to the crown! I tell you, nay; you must all suffer persecution who follow the Lamb; we must be hated of all nations for Christ's sake; we must come through great tribulation, through the fiery furnace of affliction, before we can enter the land of joy and felicity. Know ye not that the souls that were slain for the testimony of Jesus are placed under the altar? Happy, happy are those men at this day, and ever happy shall be, who suffer for Christ's sake in a right and charitable way, through love to his cause and honesty of heart; not through pride and hypocrisy, without the root of the matter, to have it said they died martyrs; these are they who will miss their mark; and those who denied the call and looked back shall never have the honour to find it. I am now pointed out by many to be in a destitute and forlorn condition; but I would not exchange my state, no, not for all the glory that's on the earth; I find my Redeemer's love stronger in my bonds than ever I did in the days of my liberty; therefore I hold living here as death itself. I am as full of love and joy in the holy Spirit as ever bottle was filled with new wine. I am ready to cry out, "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; I will not take upon me to prophesy, nevertheless the Spirit of the Lord causeth me to utter:—This usurped authority, now in the hands of Cromwell, shall shortly be at an end; England shall be blessed with meek kings and mild governments; powerful preachers and dull hearers; good sermons to them will be as music to a sleepy man; they shall hear, but not understand, nor lay the word to heart, to practise it in their lives, to walk by it. O England! thou shalt wax old in wickedness; thy sins abound like those of Sodom; thy voluptuousness shall cry aloud for vengeance; the Lord shall threaten and chastise thee, yet in mercy and love will he look upon those that fear him, and call upon his name; he will spare and save them alive in the days of his anger, when the wicked shall be sifted from amongst you as the chaff is sifted from amongst the wheat; for out of thee, O England, shall a bright star arise, whose light and voice shall make the heathen to quake, and knock under with submission to the gospel of Jesus. He shall be as a sound of thunder in the ears of the wicked, and as a lantern to the Jews, to lead them to the knowledge of Jesus, the only Son of God, and true Messiah, whom they so long mistrusted; for the short work spoken of by the apostle, which the Lord is to make upon the earth in the latter age of the world, cannot be far off. Observe, my dear friends, while you live, my calculation of the dates in the book of Revelation, and in Daniel, which the Spirit of the Lord led me into, for the Lord will reveal it to some of his own ere that time come; for the nearer the time is, the seals shall be taken away, and more and more shall be revealed to God's people, for the Lord doth nothing without he reveals it by his Spirit to his servants the prophets; he destroyed not the old world without the knowledge of Noah; he did not overthrow Sodom and Gomorrah without the knowledge of Abraham. I do not mean now that any new prophet shall arise; but the Lord by his Spirit shall cause knowledge to abound among his people, whereby the old prophecies shall be clearly and perfectly understood. And I die in that thought, and really believe that my calculation on the Revelation by St. John, and the prophecy which St. Jerome copied off, and translated

out of the Hebrew language, as it is written on Seth's pillar in Damascus, which pillar is said to have stood since before the flood, and was built by Seth, Adam's son, and written by Enoch the prophet; as likewise the holy precepts, whereby the patriarch walked before the law was given to Moses, which were also engraven on the said pillar, whereof many Jews have copies, in their own language, written on parchment, and engraven on brass and copper; but the alteration of the date makes them to stagger at it, not knowing that the dates were to be altered by the birth of Christ."

THE END.

T. C. Savill, Printer, 107, St. Martin's Lane, Charing Cross.

EPISCOPACY, TRADITION,

AND

THE SACRAMENTS.

EPISCOPACY, TRADITION,

AND

THE SACRAMENTS,

CONSIDERED IN REFERENCE TO

THE OXFORD TRACTS,

WITH A POSTSCRIPT UPON FUNDAMENTALS,

BY

REV. WILLIAM FITZGERALD, B.A.

"Call me Protestante whoe will, I doe not passe thereof."—BISHOP RIDLEY.

DUBLIN
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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE substance of the following sheets appeared originally in the form of a Review in the Dublin Christian Examiner for 1837. Since that time, the party who are understood to favor the opinions supported in the Oxford Tracts, &c. have attracted so much of public notice, both here and in England, that a republication of these papers in a separate shape was judged expedient. I have subjoined, in the form of a Postscript, a few Remarks upon the last volume of the Tracts. With an earnest hope that what I have written, may tend to the advancement of God's truth, and that whichever side, in this controversy, is in error, may be led into the knowledge of their mistake. I have only farther to entreat the reader that he would ponder carefully and examine dispassionately the arguments alleged. which, if they shall be found to be too weak and insufficient, I shall take it as a kindness to have their weakness and insufficieney pointed out.

Dublin, January, 1839.

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EPISCOPACY, TRADITION,

AND

THE SACRAMENTS.

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH OF THE ORIGIN OF THE HIGH-CHURCH PARTY.

THE peculiar situation which the British churches occupy in the great Protestant fraternity, has always attracted the attention of thoughtful observers; and Providence (which manifested so singular a care for these islands from the very first) has blessed *us*, above our brethren, with an ecclesiastical constitution which, like our civil polity, has been the envy and admiration of the world. While yielding to none of the Reformed in the purity of our faith and doctrine, we have been more fortunate than they, in being able to retain that primitive frame of discipline which prevailed universally in the ancient times of apostolic integrity, and thus to avoid the semblance of an *outward* schism, in the struggle to regain an *inward* unity with the Catholic Church of better ages. This felicity in the circumstances of our Reformation, gave our early apologists great advantage in refuting the specious sophistry of the Romish champions, who declaimed against the Reformers, as violators of the public order which had been always received in Christendom. "Our church," said the British divines, "is the church of the four first centuries: our doctrines and our orders have come down to us from thence, in an uninterrupted succession; we teach nothing but what they taught, and our governors are the same old constituted authorities as they acknowledged, and acting in strict accordance with their undoubted canonical prerogatives. It is those that separate from us who are schismatics; and upon them the *onus* lies of excusing, if they can, their contempt of their spiritual superiors."

The foreign Protestants, it is obvious, could not take the same ground. Their proceedings bore upon them undeniable marks of irregularity and violence, and could only be justified upon the plea of necessity, which excuses what it dictates. The plea, doubtless, was a good one; but, unfortunately, by acknowledging their conduct to be disorderly, it left their enemies in possession of all those topics which, enforced by a popular rhetoric, are so effectual with the undistinguishing vulgar. The prejudice of authority, and the prescription of antiquity, were against them. However, as is usual in such cases, the hard words they met with did but serve to make them more in love with the ecclesiastical model which they had adopted; and though it was too evident that very little in its favour could be got out of the Fathers, yet the imagination of some of the Swiss leaders (warmed, we may suppose, by the ardour of their zeal for Calvin) soon found something in the obscure hints of the New Testament, which, when filled up and coloured by their own active fancies, seemed as perfectly to resemble the Genevan platform, as ever evening cloud did a castellated mountain, to the eye of a home-sick mariner.

The publication of "Calvin's Institutes" forms no unimportant epoch in the history of the church. The rapidity and permanence of the effect produced by it upon public opinion, has been scarcely ever equalled. Its author rose at once into the very foremost rank of great men, in an age prolific beyond parallel in genius; and his work, becoming the acknowledged standard of faith with a large section of the Protestants, was regarded with the profoundest reverence as little less than inspired. Nay, so strongly is the impress of his abilities stamped upon it, that even those who abominate his creed, and cordially detest his moral character, unite with his adherents in their loudest praises of the masculine vigour, and penetrating sagacity, which it displays. Neither the most bigoted Papist, nor the laxest Arminian, can deny the claims of John Calvin to *intellectual* eminence. To the classical elegance, and cultivated taste of Melancthon, he added the unwearied energy and dauntless courage, the unshaken nerve and the commanding spirit of Luther. His eloquence, too, held a middle place between the styles of the great German reformers. It is neither so impetuous as Luther's, nor so equable and unimpassioned as Melancthon's; but had *all* the latter's purity, with much of the former's glowing

fervour. In learning he must yield to some of his contemporaries; but even in those tasks where learning might seem most requisite, his surprising acuteness and unfailing ingenuity have enabled him to surpass men of greater erudition but duller parts. His memory was as faithful to retain, as his apprehension was quick to acquire knowledge; and, so disproportionate did the extent of his theological attainments appear to the time and study bestowed in gaining them, that, says Hooker, "Divine knowledge he gathered, not by hearing or reading, so much as by teaching others. For, though thousands were debtors unto him touching knowledge of that kind, yet he to none but only to God, the author of that most blessed fountain, the Book of Life, and of that admirable dexterity of wit, together with the help of other learning, that were his guides." Such was Calvin—"incomparably the wisest man that ever the French Church did enjoy, since the hour it enjoyed him."

But, in mere *literary* abilities, he had at least one equal in Melancthon: what enabled him, upon Luther's death, to take such a decided lead in the Protestant Churches was, that extraordinary capacity for business in which Melancthon was notoriously deficient. Calvin, like Luther, was formed for *action;* and, like him, he took the foremost place in every action he engaged in, with that natural supremacy of minds born to command, before which inferior spirits instinctively give way. He was a man collected within himself, driving forward his great objects with an undeviating consistency, and an unremitting force. His energy was not the effect of transitory excitement, but the habitual tone of his mind. His ambition was as remarkable as his abilities. Not content with an absolute dictatorship in his own city of Geneva, he aspired to a sort of sovereignty over the whole Protestant Church, and omitted nothing which could strengthen his influence in every quarter; whether we consider "his dependents both abroad and at home, his intelligence from foreign churches, his correspondence every where with the chiefest, his industry in pursuing them which did at any time openly either withstand his proceedings or gainsay his opinions, his book entitled 'Contra Nebulonem quendam,' his writing but of three lines in disgrace of any man as forcible as any proscription throughout all reformed churches, his rescripts and answers of as great authority as decretal epistles." [Hooker's MS. in answer to "the Christian Letter," vol. 1, p.

166, of Mr. Keble's Edit.] It is almost incredible how zealously his followers became devoted to his person, and his system; until, at last, that which was originally only vindicated on the plea of a hard necessity, was advanced upon the bold claim of a DIVINE RIGHT to establishment, which kings and people were required to submit to on their peril.

Upon this errand, Knox, (whose character was a sort of coarse likeness of his master's,) came to head the turbulent reformers of the Scottish Church; while Cartwright, (though far inferior in talent as a demagogue, and having to work under less favourable circumstances,) undertook, with his coadjutor Travers, a similar experiment in England. The contest about particular ceremonies and vestments, (though still kept up, as furnishing popular topics for decrying the Episcopal Hierarchy.*) became now a matter of secondary importance; the great object was the introduction of THE DISCIPLINE; and the war was soon regularly opened by the two formal *admonitions* to the Parliament, setting forth their duty touching a reform in matters ecclesiastical. But they soon found watchful and resolute opponents; the chief of whom, Dr. (afterwards Archbishop) Whitgift, in a short answer to the admonitions, exposed the sophistry of their arguments, and the danger of their principles, with great vigour and cogency of reason. This called forth a reply from Cartwright; and that again, an elaborate defence from Whitgift. The combatants were not ill-matched. Cartwright possessed, at any rate, that intense activity of mind, which seems almost to compensate for the want of genius in men of moderate parts. Every page of his writings betrays evident tokens of inordinate pride and self-conceit, the natural consequence of which was, a stiff obstinacy in all his opinions, and a preconceived contempt for every thing that could be alleged against him. To a great command of words, a flowing style, a considerable skill in the lower kinds of rhetoric, he united that inexhaustible capacity of mistaking or begging the real question, and that fertility in irrelevant declamation, which are necessary to enable a controversialist to dispute for ever on the wrong side. His reading was great and multifarious, but indi-

* It was scarcely good faith in the Disciplinarians to urge the plea of a tender conscience against particular ceremonies, to which these were *special* objections, since they objected in reality to *all* ceremonies, on the ground that the Church had no power to legislate in matters indifferent.

gested; and "his Greek and Latin sentences, unchewed, came up again, for the most part unchanged."* Except only in that indefatigable activity for which they were both remarkable, Whitgift was the very opposite of his antagonist. His learning was solid, but not extensive; yet such was his dexterity, and good sense, that it served him in better stead than Cartwright's unwieldy erudition. His style is often homely, altogether devoid of that easy flow, and oratorical embellishment, which Cartwright affected; and closely resembling the strong, clear, and nervous English of our early reformers. An acute and expert logician, he possessed, moreover, that "large, sound, *round-about* sense," which (according to Locke) is the great distinction between a man of reason and a mere verbal chicaner. Yet, it must not be denied, that, from the want of a philosophical knowledge of human nature, he is apt to estimate an argument according to its *logical value* alone, and to think that he has done enough when he has shown its worthlessness in this respect, without going to the bottom of those complicated prejudices, mistakes, and confusions, which gave it plausibility in the judgment of his adversaries. His greatest fault, however, was his choleric disposition. He loses all temper at Cartwright's perpetual *petitiones principii*, breaks out into uncontrollable impatience at his hollow periods, and wordy harangues, and often cannot even restrain himself from bursting into most undignified personal invectives against his old opponent. To this, indeed, both the combatants are too prone; but Cartwright's is the bitter disdain, and deep-seated hostility, of a stern and arrogant mind; while Whitgift evinces all the passionate and sudden violences of a warm and hasty temper.

Soon after the publication of his defence, Whitgift was raised to the Episcopal Bench; and, seeing Cartwright still pertinaciously keeping up the contest, in a happy hour for the Church of England, he selected Richard Hooker to take his place in the controversy. To say that Hooker was learned, if by learning we mean mere extent of reading, is but small praise. In this sense, Cartwright perhaps was his equal in erudition But Hooker was not one of those pedantic scholars "who seem to have been at a banquet of languages, and stolen away the scraps:" he had fed his mind upon the wholesome nutriment of

*Hobbes.

learning. The wisdom, the eloquence, the imagery of ancient sages, orators, and poets, defecated and clarified by his discerning judgment, and pure taste, became assimilated, (as it were,) with the common mass of his thoughts, and wrought into the very bone and muscle of his native genius. Profound without obscurity; imaginative, yet not fanciful; a mighty master of the passions, but ever making it his first business to convince the reason;—he enlightened the understanding, while he touched the heart. He was cautious and discriminating, yet not cool; for he had all the warmth of genuine feeling, without the fervours of intemperate heat. With a soul that rose superior to all the petty quarrels of faction, and a wit piercing enough to penetrate the very hardest questions, he seemed formed to guard the interests of truth and moderation, in an age of narrow bigotry and cross-grained fanaticism. Such a man, combining in rare union the schoolman's speculative acuteness, with the statesman's practical wisdom, yet meek and charitable, though a polemic, and deeply pious, though a politician—such a man as this deserves the proud title of "the glory of the English Priesthood." Long may the church which he defended revere his memory, and profit by his labours; and her sons, to the remotest posterity, imbibing the generous principles which he advocated, preserve unimpaired that goodly structure of Ecclesiastical Polity;—that majestic temple, which, consecrated by the memory of holy men and martyrs of our religion, has proved so long the inviolable shrine of the purest faith in Christendom!

But wisdom and moderation such as his, it was vain to look for in his successors. The defenders of our hierarchy against the Puritans, finding long prescription opposed by the pretence of a Divine right, were not slow to see that similar claims might be made for their own system, and that on far better grounds. Scripture certainly countenanced them more than their adversaries, and the authority of the Fathers was, for the most part, full in their favour. Men naturally grow extravagantly fond of that which supports their own side of a question, and thus the too indiscriminate reverence for old tradition, and the doctors of the Church, which most of our divines at that period inherited from their Popish ancestors, became increased, strengthened, and more firmly fixed in their minds, from the assistance which such topics afforded them in resisting the novelties of the Puri-

tans. "Prevailing studies," says Bishop Berkeley, "are of no small consequence to a state; the religion, manners, and civil government of a country ever taking some bias from its philosophy, which affects not only the minds of its professors and students, but also the opinions of all the better sort, and the practice of the whole people, remotely and consequentially, indeed, though not inconsiderably." If this be true of a state, it applies with still greater force to the circumstances of a *party*.

Now, that vast heterogeneous collection of authors, who pass, with an undistinguishing honour, under the venerable title of THE FATHERS,* being indeed nothing else but the succession of such ecclesiastical writers as, differing greatly among themselves, in age, in parts, in learning, and integrity, were preserved to our times by accident, or the favour of the most ignorant generations rather than their intrinsic merits, must needs present to us the development of those seeds of error and superstition connate with the human mind, which sprang up early among Christians and throve fast, till at length they overspread the whole surface of the Church, and converted the garden of the Lord into a tangled thicket of briers and thorns. Hence, even in those who wrote the longest before the actual establishment of the Papal power, in the strictest sense of that term, we find traces of those corruptions which are properly denominated *Popish*, because they naturally issue in the production of that matured completion of spiritual despotism: and hence it is, that the high-church system, which, for the most part, is (not a judicious separation of the genuine spirit of Christianity, from the foreign admixtures and gross dregs of worldliness, wherewith it was diluted or debased, but) an indiscriminate concoction of *all*, good, bad, and indifferent, together, though it falls short, in almost every particular, of the full strength and body of the Roman cup of abominations, has yet, as being drawn from much of the same materials, no slight smack and flavour of that intoxicating draught. Into this system, as men's fears of Rome gradually became weaker, and their dread of Geneva more urgent and prevailing, a great portion of our divines went more boldly every day; a system which assigns an exorbitant value to tradition and antiquity, unduly

* "Whatsoever time, or the heedless hand of blind chance, hath drawn from of old to this present, in her huge drag-net, whether fish or sea-weed, shells or shrubs, unpicked, unchosen, those be the Fathers."—*Milton on Prelat. Episc.*

depreciates the sacred Scriptures, as well as human reason, restraining free inquiry, lest it should end in diversity of opinion; a system which extravagantly magnifies the power and importance of the priesthood, abridges the natural liberty of private judgment, and consolidates a scheme of inordinate ecclesiastical domination, by working upon the fears, the fancies, the tastes of the laity, rather than their reasons.

Bancroft's celebrated sermon at Paul's Cross is generally taken as the first decided indication of this change in the tone of the defenders of the hierarchy. But more unequivocal signs were not long wanting; *high-churchism* becomes still more clearly developed in the writings of Bilson, Saravia, Sutcliff, and Covel, as we advance from the middle of Elizabeth's reign downwards. Hooker himself has been claimed as one of the leaders of the new school. If by this it is meant that his *principles* are the same as those of the Oxonians, or even consistent with them, nothing, we apprehend, can be more untenable, as we shall endeavour to show hereafter.—[See note at the end of the Book.] Yet, though Hooker's *profound* principles (had they been understood) would have afforded the surest antidote against the spreading contagion, it must be allowed that there was much upon the *surface* of his style and manner which was likely enough to be hastily caught at as a recognition of their creed, by the disciples of the rising party. He may often be misunderstood to be pleading absolutely for a thing, when, in fact, he is only endeavouring to moderate the frantic opposition of the Puritans, by showing that, after all, it may be supported with colourable argument; and that profound reverence for antiquity which is apt to be so strong in cultivated minds of a tender and imaginative cast, (though it might exist with perfect safety in conjunction with an understanding masculine as his) might yet, when expressed in all his persuasive eloquence, be enough to destroy the balance of weaker intellects, where there was not judgment solid and large enough to counterpoise and adjust it.

But the influence of a great genius who arose in the reign of Elizabeth's successor, though a foreigner himself, was strongly and permanently felt by the English high-churchmen. This was Hugo Grotius, a man mighty either to pull down or to build up, and of whom it is difficult to say whether he did more injury or benefit to the church. Now, while we freely confess that Baxter overdid (as indeed was his wont) his charge of a plot between

"Grotius and the Episcopalians," we must yet hold, on the other hand, that the tincture which Grotius' scheme for a comprehension of the Romanists, seems to have imparted to all his later theology, modified to no small extent the tenets and practice of what may be called the Laudian Hierarchists. Certainly much of the *doctrinal* corruption which now crept in among them, may be traced to him; especially in regard of that fundamental doctrine of the Reformation, justification by faith only. Grotius appears to have formed his own creed upon that subject, very much from the works of certain of the Greek Fathers, who, accustomed in their scientific speculations to dwell upon the *pollution* rather than the *moral guilt* incurred by transgression, and to consider sin rather in relation to man's own perfect nature, or the harmony of the universe, than to *God's law*, insensibly accommodated the gospel offer to their philosophical system, making it only just supply what they felt to be deficient in it, a means of *accomplishing* that purification (*κάθαρσις ψύχης*) which Plato promised, but could not perform.*

That this precise view of the matter was seldom avowed by our divines is, perhaps, to be mainly attributed to the explicitness with which, what is termed the *forensic* theory, is asserted in our articles and homilies. Formularies which those who signed them had not yet learned to sneer at and deride.† Be this as it may, from this time Arminianism began to be an usual accompaniment of high-churchmanship, while this unfortunate plan of a comprehension, conceived by the grand luminary of the Remonstrants, gave no small colour to the charge of Popery which the Puritans urged so bitterly against their adversaries. All the materials of this grand *magisterium* of *Anglicanism* (as Mr. Newman is pleased to call it) being now ready, there was only wanting a skilful master-artist to give the *projection;* and he soon appeared in Archbishop Laud, the acknowledged symbol and personification of the party. The explosion which followed put a tragical end to the experiment; and though, upon the restoration of Charles II, another Laud appeared to have revived in Sheldon, the genuine spirit of the elder school seemed

* See particularly his Annot. in Cass. cons., and the two tracts against Rivetus, in his Opp. Theol. T. III., Amstel. 1679.

† Bishop Taylor is perhaps the one of our elder Divines who approaches most nearly to the Grotian, or even strictly Popish view of Justification. See his sermon called, Fides Formata in the *Δεκὰς Ἐμβολίμαιος*.

to be fast evaporating in the licentious atmosphere of that age, and was scarcely preserved from the chilling influence of latitudinarianism which the alliance with the Dutch Remonstrants now began to generate, by the genius and vigour of Bull. Disgusted by the Antinomian abuses which he had witnessed during the anarchy of the commonwealth, that great prelate unhappily conceived such a prejudice against the old Protestant doctrine of Justification, as led him to exert all the powers of his manly understanding in defence of that strange corruption of it which is indissolubly associated with his name,* and which the weight of his authority, and the subtlety of his reasonings combined to make the received standard of orthodoxy amongst British Theologians for a long period. A similar panic-fear of the heresies, strifes, and distractions which the abuse of private judgment was producing every where around him, both at home and abroad, most probably influenced him, in like manner, to maintain so extravagant a veneration for the suffrages of the early fathers. But, with all faults, such men as Bull would have been an honour to any cause:—"*talis cum sis, utinam noster esses.*" It was the shock of the revolution, which threw the very dregs of fanatical bigotry upon the surface, and gave such men as Dodwell, Hickes, and Sacheverel, (for Leslie, though as violent as any, deserved more respectable company,) the foremost station in their party. The high-church interest was now split into two great divisions; one of which—the non-jurors—openly separated from the establishment to hold communion with the ejected bishops; and the other, though generally, more or less, disaffected to the Dutch and Hanoverian lines, judged it best to secure their benefices and preferments by recognizing a *de facto* monarch.

The former of these, sinking every day in character as they grew in rancour and fanaticism, expired at last, as a party,

* Bull's Harmonia Apostolica was first published in 1669; and according to Nelson, in his life of that prelate, created no small disturbance. "There arose," says he, "no small contention whether this interpretation of Scripture were conformable to the article of religion, and the Homily of Justification therein referred to; some—downright denied it, and condemned it as heretical. Yea, there were not wanting then, even men of some eminence in the church, who with all might opposed him, and would certainly have overwhelmed him and his doctrine, had it been possible." Most of the peculiarities of Bull's system are to be found in Chillingworth's eighth sermon, preached during the civil war; and (though less definitely) in Hammond's Practical Catechism, and defences of it against Cheynel, about 1646.

amid the general derision and contempt; the other, too, fast degenerated into a political faction: enlarging,* as is usual, and loosening their speculative creed for the practical advantage of strengthening their side with more numerous adherents; for political partizanship is so absorbing a passion that it will prevail over even religious zeal. And now, the Whig ministry,† apprehending (and, to say truth, not without good reason) that the great mass of the clergy were strongly infected with *Jacobite* principles, had recourse to the desperate expedient—as weak and short-sighted as it was profligately wicked—of hiring a base crew of infidel pamphleteers to throw every kind of disgrace and contumely upon the *Ecclesiastical order* itself. Nor did they desist from the fierce assault, though they saw that religion herself was struck at by the furious desperadoes whom they retained to traduce her ministers. The Whig clergy, indeed, or low-churchmen, acted a much wiser and honester part. They did their best to defend religion and liberty (the two greatest blessings which man is heir to) as far as they themselves understood them. But unfortunately, their antipathy to the superstitions and tyranny of their Tory brethren, made them too generally inclined to explode all mysteries from religion, and confound liberty with license; and thus, Hoadley (who may be taken as their leader) was as justly reprehensible in one extreme, as Snape, or Hickes, or Johnson in the other. Endowed with an imperturbable equanimity of temper, a clear, though not a capacious intellect, without a single gleam of imagination or spark of enthusiasm, but blessed with indomitable perseverance, dauntless courage, and a confidence in himself which nothing could for a moment shake, he seemed formed by nature to maintain that unparalleled controversy which he waged almost single-handed against a host of such vigorous assailants as Sherlock, and Atterbury, and Hare, and Potter.‡ Throughout

* Observe, for instance, the tone of *Swift*, in what used to pass as a High-Church Treatise—"A *Church-of-England-man* hath a true veneration for the scheme established among us of ecclesiastical government; and, *although he will not determine whether Episcopacy be of Divine right*, he is sure it is most fitted to primitive institution." The sentiments of a Church-of-England-man. Sect. 1.

† See Warburton's Dedication to Lord Mansfield.

‡ Hoadley is said to have considered Potter as his most formidable adversary. The Archbishop's work has been excellently re-edited by the Rev. J. C. Crosthwaite.

the whole of this opprobrious business, the high-church party appear to have been acting under the influence of some fatal frenzy, and provoked perhaps as much by his phlegm as by his heterodoxy, would have gone almost any lengths to crush their opponent. Thus, in their inordinate zeal to assert the speculative right of church authority, they gave the secular power a pretext (which was all it wanted) for almost annihilating the exercise of it:—

"The Convocation gaped, but could not speak."

Condemned by this fatal interdict to comparative inactivity, these fiery polemics seem to have shared the fate of Hudibras's sword:—

"The trenchant blade, Toledo trusty,
For want of use was now grown rusty;
And ate into itself, for lack
Of something else to hew and hack;"

and when, at last, the fervours of Jacobite politics had cooled down, and a Tory ministry could once more smile favourably upon the clergy, the high-church party, deprived of the stimulus by which they had been so long excited, and having no longer the accustomed arena in which to display themselves, began every day to exhibit more and more the lazy vices of an affluent and successful faction, and still degenerated faster and faster, till, in our younger days, a high-churchman meant little more than a comfortably beneficed ecclesiastic, with no very definite religious creed, save that he had signed the Articles without reading them, was a firm supporter of the king and Mr. Pitt, did as little as possible in the way of preaching, praying, or catechising, but showed a most edifying zeal to banish and drive away the damnable heresies of Methodism, Evangelicism, and Bible Societies, from the flock committed to his care.

Late events, however, have convinced the world that, all this time, there was an extensive, though noiseless, underground vegetation of the good old non-juring principles, and that the stock, yet remaining in the earth, was soon likely to take as firm a root, and bear as luxuriant foliage as in the glorious days of the great Sacheverel—

Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus,
Nigræ feraci frondis in Algido,
Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
Ducit opes, animumque ferro.

Indeed we look on the Oxonians as genuine enthusiasts, whose imaginations have been fired by the venerable form of ANTIQUITY, and the grand idea of the CATHOLIC CHURCH. Men of cultivated tastes and pious tempers, becoming sensible, on the one hand, of the spiritual deadness and frigidity of what used to pass for orthodox Church-of-Englandism, and shrinking, on the other, from the hard *republican* air of evangelical Protestantism, were naturally captivated by the system which they found in the Fathers and non-jurors, in which outward ceremony appeared animated by a spirit of devotion, and the mitigated *authority* of tradition was substituted for the iron infallibility of the papal oracle. The reverend names of THE FATHERS, consecrated by the admiration of successive ages, formed a sort of magic spell to hold the intellect in eternal thraldom; and, reading them with a constant desire to palliate their errors, and a constant wish to find them right in every thing, their own minds became gradually assimilated to the objects of their idolatry. Thus, as the Knight of La Mancha grew so extravagantly enamoured of the world he read of in romances, that, sooner than distrust those veracious chronicles, he would transform, despite his senses, the real world into accordance with their testimony; so our modern Quixotes are so deeply in love with the picture of primitive Christianity, as drawn by certain grave historians,—about as faithful in this respect as the biographers of Palmerin and Amadis,—that they must needs, in spite of logic and common sense, count every father of the church a saint, every argument he uses a demonstration, every puerile flourish of his pen an unrivalled stroke of eloquence, and every dogma which he begs, borrows, or invents, as certain (if not more so) than the Holy Scriptures. There are, to be sure, some *Sanchos* amongst their followers, who occasionally feel a misgiving about the reality of this faery vision; but the genuine out-and-out enthusiast has always an immense advantage, while the glimmerings of the squire's unsteady reason only serve to make him uncomfortable and doubtful in the perpetration of an escapade, where his leader is quite at ease.

The conservative principle upon which the English universities are founded, operating steadily against *all* change at first, secures them from the pernicious effects of too hasty innovation —a thing especially to be dreaded in those seats of learning where our youth are trained for after life—and preserves the existing settlement until the alteration, now proved by the test of expe-

rience, and irresistibly recommended by the voice of public opinion, may be made (slowly, indeed, but) safely, because with calm and mature deliberation. Not that (as has been calumniously said) "they are *immovably* fixt by the strength of their cables, and the ponderousness of their anchors," but that, being of the old British build, and made of lasting materials—"deep in their draught, and roomy in their length,"—they can only be floated by a great depth of water, and ride the waves with a majestic dignity, unlike the frail though gaudy barks, which shake at every ripple, and veer with every changing gale, the sport and playthings of the capricious elements.

"Bodies of men," says one, whose good sense in this matter was not misled by prejudice, "retain the character of their first institution very long; and, all things considered, I am inclined to think it not amiss that they do so. Universities and schools of learning should not be in haste to exchange established principles and practices which the best sense of former ages had introduced, for novel and untried pretensions. The reason is plain: their instructions would have small weight, and their discipline no stability, amid such easy and perpetual changes. They are, indeed, the depositories of the public wisdom and virtue; and their business is to inculcate both on the rising generation, upon the footing on which they are received and understood in the several countries where they are erected. Even if their local statutes laid them under no restraint, an easiness in departing from established rules were a levity not to be commended, and would, in the end, be unfavourable to truth itself, when at any time it should come, in its turn, to be entertained among them."* However, it cannot be denied that accidental evils attend these great advantages. Obsolete prejudices, when exploded every where else, are often harboured in collegiate cells from age to age, and cling with unusual tenacity to the minds of secluded students; and hence the universities have been occasionally disgraced by such displays of bigotry and intolerance as have caused infinite injury and scandal to those learned establishments. This has been remarkably the case in the Hampden controversy; and one cannot sufficiently regret that the task of opposing latitudinarianism has devolved upon a party of such extravagant sentiments in the opposite extreme, and that that party should

* Hurd's Moral and Political Dialogues. Vol. iii. p. 158.

number such respectable names as *Newman* and *Keble* in the foremost rank of their champions.

The dangerous nature of the opinions which characterise this party, and the zeal and diligence with which they have been propagated and recommended as the genuine doctrines of the Church of England, render it the duty of those who dissent from them to protest against such an arrogant assumption, which if, by often being repeated, it once came to be recognised as true, would (we are persuaded) do incalculable mischief and discredit to the church of which we are humble but devoted members. There is another circumstance which makes us speak out on this occasion. No one can have failed to remark the unusual activity which the Roman Catholics have manifested, now for some time back, to diffuse the poison of their errors in England; an activity so intense, that it would almost seem as if the sovereign pontiff, like Homer's Jupiter, had turned his eyes from every other quarter of the Christian world, to fix them with undivided attention upon the all-important contest which Popery is waging with the British churches. Now, the Oxford theology seems to us (and we have examined it with care, and, we trust, with candour) to be fraught with the seeds of those corruptions which appear full-blown in the Romish system. With the bulk of the people, who are little accustomed to nice distinctions, we are convinced that there would be a very short transition from high-churchism to Popery; and that when once they had brought themselves to a practical acquiescence in church authority and the sentence of tradition, as inculcated by the sages of the British Critic, they would be in a very apt disposition to swallow the stronger dose of universal infallibility, as administered by the more daring practitioners of the Dublin Review. Nor is it only by thus putting such formidable weapons into our adversaries' hands that the Oxonians appear likely to do injury to the common cause, but by seeking to dissuade us from using those defensive arms which the first reformers wielded with triumphant success, and the use whereof gave that sore blow to the power of antichrist with which it still shakes to its very centre.

Thus, in a formal enumeration, in one of the "Tracts for the Times," of the proper topics to be handled in the controversy with the Church of Rome, not only *are ecclesiastical infallibility, and the right of private judgment, and the sufficiency of Scripture, excluded from the list,* but the doctrine OF JUSTIFICATION BY

FAITH ALONE—the doctrine with the recovery of which the reformation began, and with the loss of which (and may God forefend the omen) the reformation will end—this vital doctrine (we say,) which Luther deemed of more importance than all our differences with Rome beside, is judged, forsooth, of far too *ultra-Protestant* a complexion to be so much as hinted at by these staunch defenders of the Church of England. For all these reasons we should consider it unwise to remain silent upon a subject of such manifestly great importance, even if we could command sufficient composure to preserve a total quiescence, while the whole church was in agitation round us. We are not insensible, however, to the delicacy of the task which we have undertaken, nor ignorant how apt much of what we have to say will be to be misunderstood, and (still more) to be misrepresented. But we must only make up our minds to bear these hardships, as we have done worse, with tolerable equanimity. Mistakes we must endeavour to obviate by care and circumspection; and as for misrepresentations,—

> "——— Levius fit patentia,
> Quidquid corrigere est nefas."

CHAPTER I.

EPISCOPACY.

THE first thing which must strike every reader of the Oxford Tracts is, the extraordinary prominence which they assign to the tenet of the necessity of APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION for the valid administration of those sacraments which are "generally necessary for salvation." A large portion of our clergy are sternly rebuked for the doubtfulness and hesitation which they seem to feel about owning this doctrine in all its fulness; and while, at one time, it is wondered at, how any can doubt but that this is the judgment of our church, (vol. i. p. 8,) we have hints thrown out, at another, of the propriety of *enlarging* the thirty-nine articles with a fresh "remedy against schism," in the shape of an express condemnation "of the *heresy* of Hoadley—*and of others like him.*"—(Ibid. Tract 41.)

Now, be this doctrine true or false, (and, as we are only pleading for toleration, we do not think it necessary to pledge ourselves to either side of the question,) we must be permitted to say in behalf of our censured brethren—that, at any rate it is not *Anglicanism*, and that (which is more) we should be heartily sorry to witness any attempt to make it so, by excluding from the ministry or the church many thousands of sincere friends to our ecclesiastical establishment, who are yet content to own that their fellow-Protestants in Scotland and on the continent are not destitute of the means of grace and the rights of Christian churches. Of course, if the doctrine be true, its importance is such as to render it proper to assert it strongly, impress it seriously, and canvass it fairly; but to make it a mean of narrowing our terms of communion still closer, or excluding from our borders those who are, in all practical concerns, united to maintain our present constitution, is just the counsel which the Romanist and Dissenter might, with reason, wish to see adopted, as the likeliest to issue in the subversion of their common enemy. Happily, however, our church herself has evinced more moderation than her over-zealous sons; and "the latitudinarian *heretics*" may still address to their opponents the words in which

Ulysses remonstrated with the noisy mendicant who sought to jostle him from his own porch :—

> δαιμόνι' οὔτε τί σεῖρίζω κακὸν οὔτ' ἀγορεύω,
> οὔτε τινὰ φθονέω δομεναι, καὶ πόλλ' ἀνελοντα,
> οὐδὸς δ' ἀμφοτέρους ὅδε χείσεται· οἰδέ τί σεχρὴ
> ἀλλοτρίων φθονέειν·——ODYSS. Σ'. 15.

In considering how far the Church of England is pledged in this matter, it will be necessary to draw a distinction between those things to which her clergy are required only to assent, as formularies lawful to *be used*, and those which they subscribe as authoritative expositions of *their faith*. Of the former kind is the Book of Ordination, of the latter the Thirty-nine Articles. Yet, the Oxonians have attempted to make the clergy's assent *to the use* of the ordination services include a solemn assent to the truth and propriety of every syllable contained in the *preface* to it, which they are not required to *use* at all. But the Church of England is not, and does not pretend to be infallible: she has herself expressly declared the contrary; and, therefore, no man can properly consider himself *bound* to maintain her absolute freedom from error, in any point, to which he has not voluntarily declared his own assent. Now, the English ordinal is imposed on us in three ways: 1, by the 4th Irish canon; 2, by the 36th article; 3, by the act of uniformity: and all these have manifestly exclusive reference to *the use* of the formularies prescribed. The 4th canon runs simply thus:—

"That form of ordination, and no other, shall be *used* in the Church, but that which is contained in the book of Ordering Bishops, &c.; and if any shall affirm, that they who are consecrated or ordered, according to those *rites*, are not lawfully made, nor ought to be accounted either bishops, priests, or deacons; or shall deny that the churches established under this government are true churches, or refuse to join with them in Christian profession, let him be excommunicated, and not restored, until he repent, and publicly revoke his error."

The 36th article is just as plainly referable only to the lawfulness of *the rites used*. It declares the book to contain all things necessary to due consecration &c., and nothing of itself superstitious or ungodly, and that, *therefore*, all persons so consecrated, &c. are lawfully consecrated and ordered.

Last comes the statute of uniformity, which is, if possible, more decisive:—

"To the end," says the act, "that uniformity *in the public*

worship of God may be speedily effected—[to which, certainly, no more than the *use* of the forms is requisite]—be it enacted, that every parson, &c. shall, openly and publicly, declare his unfeigned assent and consent TO THE USE of all things in the said book contained and prescribed."

Words could not more plainly express the intention of the legislature: and, we are persuaded, that no man is bound by the Church of England, to any peculiar doctrine concerning the primitive government of the Church, or the exclusive validity of Episcopal ordination, by the preface to her ordinal, any more than he is bound to believe the false rule for finding Easter in her Calendar to be the true one, which (as we remember) was one of the grounds on which the excellent Baxter was willing to rest his nonconformity. Let us turn, therefore, to the Articles.

Now these, it has often been remarked, seem to have been studiously so framed as to pass no definite decision upon the question. The Church, for instance, is simply defined to be "a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same." And those ministers are judged lawfully called and sent, "which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers unto the Lord's vineyard." Now, of course, to one who holds (as the writer of one of these tracts does) that the words, "Do this in remembrance of me"—were addressed to the twelve apostles as bishops of the Church, commissioning them to consecrate the sacred elements, and that none may presume to do the like but such as derive their power from them by successive transmissions, an episcopally ordained minister would be deemed one of the things that, according to Christ's commandment, are of necessity requisite to the solemnization of the Holy Eucharist. But to another who supposed, for instance, that these words were addressed to them simply as a congregation of the faithful, and referred to the *reception* rather than the *consecration* of the Lord s supper, and who could not see that any one mode of calling and sending ministers was unalterably bound upon Christian societies to the end of time in the word of God, (and the puzzle is—as Stillingfleet says—to find a *divine* right any where but in the word of God;) to such an one we say, a minister episcopally ordained, however

proper and befitting for the purpose, would certainly not be esteemed essentially necessary to the valid administration of that sacrament. The article then obviously decides nothing as to the real point in dispute between these two, and, therefore, both may subscribe it with a clear conscience. Here, then, we must be permitted to say, the Oxonians have manifestly swerved from that discreet moderation which it has ever been the wisdom of the Church of England to preserve.

We are not ignorant of the reply which will be made to all this. The Articles, it is said, are "not a body of Divinity;" they are "polemical" "protests against certain errors of a certain period of our Church." But now, granting all this for argument's sake, is it not certain that this error (supposing it to be an error)—this very *heresy* of holding the form of church government alterable, was rife at that period when convocations were sitting, and protests might have been made against it, if it were deemed necessary? nay, more, was it not held and avowed by those who actually sat in the convocation by which these Articles were sanctioned?—This, surely, ought to be a sufficient answer. But, in truth, the Oxonians seem greatly to have misconceived the nature of our Articles. No unprejudiced person, we are convinced, can examine them without being convinced that they are very little "polemical" in their caste, and that it is rather by setting forth (positively) the whole truth, than by directly controverting or anathematizing falsehood, that they protest against the errors of the times. They are entitled "Articles for the avoiding of the diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion:" and in his Majesty's declaration prefixed to them, they are recognised as "containing the true doctrine of the Church of England;" and his Majesty thereupon takes comfort to himself in the general agreement of all in the true, usual literal meaning of the same, commanding that all further curious search be laid aside, and the Articles taken only in their literal and grammatical sense.

Now, let us ask any candid judge, whether the obvious conclusion from this is not that the Articles were designed to contain all such doctrines as the Church deemed it necessary to exact a conformity upon?—But, to pass from our authorised formularies to the suffrages of our divines. The extravagant Erastianism of Archbishop Cranmer (who seems to have thought that the king

might make a priest or bishop, as readily as a justice of the peace, is so well known that we need only allude to it; and it is remarkable, that Bishop Ridley himself, (who was in many respects much nearer to a high-churchman,) in his "Answers" given in Mr. Gloster Ridley's life of him, cautiously abstains from venturing any less general definition of a church, than that given in our present articles. If we turn to those who maintained the controversy with the Puritans, and who were compelled by the nature of that controversy to be explicit upon this subject, we shall find by Mr. Keble's own confession, the best and earliest of them defending the hierarchy upon grounds utterly inconsistent with the very first principles of modern high-churchism—the ground of the inherent mutability of all modes of discipline and public regiment, and of the original residence of all spiritual power and authority in the body corporate* of the Church. These are confessed to have been the principles of Archbishop Whitgift, and Bishop Cooper:† and we have taken some pains (in a subjoined note) to show, that they were the principles of Hooker also. Nor is Dr. Cosins less explicit upon this matter. "Are all the churches," asks he, "of Denmark, Sweveland, Poland, Germanie, Rhetia, Vallis, Tellina, the nine Cantons of Switzerland reformed, with their confederates of Geneva, of France, and the Low Countries, and of Scotland, in all points, either of *substance* or of circumstances, disciplinated alike?—Nay, they neither are, can be, *nor yet need so to be;* being it cannot be proved that any set and exact particular form thereof is recommended unto us by the word of God." (Answer to the Abstract.

* Bishop Andrews himself appears to have verged towards this opinion. We quote from the Politica of Mr. Lawson, a work well deserving to be reprinted. Speaking of Matt. xviii. 17, he says, "*Erastus* upon the place is intolerable, and most wofully wrests it; so doth Bishop *Bilson*, in his Church government, and is point blank contrary to D. *Andrews*, who, in his *Tortura Torti*, doth most accurately examine, interpret, and apply the words, and most effectually from thence confute *Bellarmine*. One may truly say of that book, as he himself said of *Austin's* Treatise *De Civitate Dei*, it was *opus palmarium*. By his exposition of this text, he utterly overthrows the immediate *jus divinum* of episcopacy, in matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He plainly and expressly makes the whole church the subject, the primary subject of the power of the keys *in foro exteriori*.—And it is observable, that divers of our champions, when they oppose *Bellarmine's* Monarchical Government of the Church, peremptorily affirm the power of the keys to be in the whole church, as the most effectual way to confute him, yet when they wrote against the *Presbyterian* and the *Anti-prelatical* party, they change their tone and tune." p. 276.

† See Keble's Preface to Hooker.

Part. Sect. 18, p. 58, London: T. Chard, 1548.) To the same effect our English Solomon himself, as quoted by Bishop Stillingfleet, (Irenicon, p. 11, chap. viii. p. 394,) declares it as his judgment, "Christiano cuique regi, Principi ac Rei-publicæ concessum, externam in rebus ecclesiasticis regiminis formam suis præscribere, quæ ad civilis formam quam proxime accedat."—And since we have quoted one layman, let us add another, but he of better authority than even the royal head of the church himself, the illustrious Bacon; who seems to have surveyed theology with the same penetrating glance which he darted through all human science. "For the second point, that there should be but one form of discipline in all churches, and that imposed by necessity of commandment and prescript out of the Word of God; it is a matter volumes have been compiled of, and therefore cannot receive a brief redargution. I for my part do confess that in revolving the Scriptures I could never find any such thing, but that God hath left the like liberty to the church government as he hath done to the civil government; to be varied according to time, place, and accidents, which nevertheless his high and divine providence doth order and dispose.....So likewise in church matters the substance of doctrine is immutable; and so are the general rules of government; but for rites and ceremonies, and for the particular hierarchies, policies, and disciplines, of churches, they be left at large, and, therefore, it is good we return to the ancient bounds of unity in the church of God; which was, one faith, one baptism; and not one hierarchy, one discipline." (Of the Pacification of the Church. Works, vol. vii. p. 68, edit. B. Montague.) Chillingworth too proposes it as a question to his adversary, (and the context shows he meant it to be answered in the negative) "whether any one kind of these external forms and orders and government be so necessary to the being of a church, but that they may be diverse in diverse places, and that a good and peaceable Christian may and ought to submit himself to the government of the place where he lives, whatsoever it be." (Religion of Protestants, chap. 6, sec. 39.)

Nay, some of our greatest divines went a still more startling length, and seemed very ready to admit, that Presbyterianism was the primitive form of the church government. See, for instance, Jewel's defence of the Apology, p. 202, and Dr. Fulke, (who passed in his own time for a high-churchman,) in his answer to the Rhemish Testament, upon Titus i. 8. "Although," says

he, "in Scripture a bishop and elder is one authority in preaching, the sacraments, &c., yet in government, by ancient use of the speech, he is only bishop, who is in the Scripture called προισταμενος, &c., to whom the ordination or consecration by imposition of hands belongeth. Not that imposition of hands belongeth only to him, for the rest of the elders did lay on their hands, or else the bishop did lay on his hands in the name of the rest." Reynolds, we suppose, would be objected to as a Puritan, but Field on the Church, book iii., chap. 39, is *omni exceptione major*.

But even with those who were for assigning a much higher origin to the triple distinction of bishops, priests, and deacons, its absolute necessity was never asserted in the best times of our Church, in the unqualified language in which it is maintained by our friends at Oxford. Let us hear, for instance, Francis Mason, (one of the warmest defenders of our church, and some of whose works have been received by Dr. Wordsworth into his "Institutes" lately published,) who, answering an objection against the orders of ministers beyond the seas, speaks thus: "First, if by *jure divino* you mean that which is according to Scripture, then the pre-eminence of bishops is *jure divino;* for it hath been already proved to be according to Scripture. Secondly, if by *jure divino* you mean the ordinance of God, in this sense also it may be said to be *jure divino.* For it is an ordinance of the apostles, whereunto they were directed by God's Spirit, even the Spirit of prophecy, and consequently the ordinance of God. But if by *jure divino* you understand a law and commandment of God, binding all Christian churches perpetually, unchangeably, and with such absolute necessity, that no other order of regiment may in any case be admitted, in this sense neither may we grant it, nor yet can you prove it to be *jure divino.*" [Defence of Foreign Ordination, in "certain brief Treatises," &c., Oxford, 1641.] No less moderate is the judgment of a still older divine—Downam, Bishop of Derry: "Though in respect of the *institution,*" says he, "there is small difference between an apostolical and divine ordinance, because what was ordained by the apostles proceeded from God (in which sense, and no other, I do hold the episcopal function to be a divine ordinance, I mean in respect of *its first institution*)—yet in respect of perpetuity, difference by some is made between those things which be *divini*, and those which be *Apos-*

tolici juris; the former in their understanding being perpetually, generally, and immutably necessary; the latter not so. So that the meaning of my defence plainly is, that the episcopal government hath this commendation above other forms of ecclesiastical government, that in respect of the first institution it is a divine ordinance; but that it should be such a divine ordinance as should be generally, perpetually, immutably, necessarily observed, so as no other form of government may in no case be admitted, I did not take upon me to maintain." (Defence of Sermon, p. 139.) Nay, Bishop Saunderson (an authority whom high-churchmen are accustomed to have in honour) bears witness that this moderation was almost universal among the Episcopalians. "The Papist," says he, in his eloquent defence of English episcopacy, "The Papist groundeth the Pope's œcumenical supremacy upon Christ's command to Peter to execute it, and to all the flock of Christ (princes also as well as others) to submit to him as their universal pastor. The Presbyterian crieth up his model of government and discipline (though minted in the last bygone century) as the very sceptre of Christ's kingdom; whereunto all kings are bound to submit theirs, making it as unalterable, and inevitably necessary to the being of a church, as the word and sacraments are. The Independent Separatist also, upon that grand principle of Puritanism, common to him with the Presbyterian (the very root of almost all the sects in the world) viz.: That nothing is to be ordered in church matters, other or otherwise than Christ hath appointed in his word, holdeth that any company of people gathered together by mutual consent in a church way, is *jure divino* free and absolute within itself to govern itself by such rules as it shall judge agreeable to God's word, without dependence upon any but *Christ Jesus alone*, or subjection to any prince, prelate, or human person or consistory whatsoever. All these (you see) do not only claim a *jus divinum*, and that of a very high nature, but in setting down their opinions seem in some expresses tending to the diminution of the ecclesiastical supremacy of princes. Whereas the Episcopal party neither meddle with the power of princes, nor are ordinarily very forward to press the *jus divinum, but rather purposely decline the mentioning of it as a term subject to misconstruction, (as hath been said), or else to interpret it, as not of necessity to import any more than an apostolic institution.*"—p. 40. Even the University of Oxford, *(proh pudor!)* in this matter, swims with

the stream, and in that formal judgment of theirs upon the Solemn League and Covenant, decline absolutely determining upon the strict *jus divinum Episcopatus.* About the same time, Bishop Hall (whose treatise on the divine right of Episcopacy has earned him a place in Doctor Pusey's Catena Patrum) did not think his principles compromised by speaking thus of the Presbyterian churches on the Continent: "Blessed be God, there is no difference in any essential matter, betwixt the Church of England and her sisters of the Reformation. We accord in every point of Christian doctrine, without the least variation: their public confessions and ours are sufficient convictions to the world, of our full and absolute agreement. The only difference is, in the form of outward administration: wherein also we are so far agreed, AS THAT WE ALL PROFESS THIS FORM NOT TO BE ESSENTIAL TO THE BEING OF A CHURCH, though much importing the well or better being of it, according to our several apprehensions thereof; and that we do all retain a reverent and loving opinion of each other in our several ways; not seeing any reason why *so poor a diversity* should work any alienation of affection in us one towards another; but, withal, nothing hinders, but that we may come yet closer to one another, if both may resolve to meet in that primitive government, whereby it is meet we should both be regulated, universally agreed on by all antiquity; wherein all things were ordered and transacted by the consent of the presbytery, moderated by one constant president thereof..... But if there must be a difference of judgment in these matters of outward policy, why should not our hearts be still one? Why should such a diversity be of power to endanger the dissolving of the bond of brotherhood? May we have the grace but to follow the truth in love, we shall in these several tracks, overtake her happily in the end; and find her embracing of peace, and crowning us with blessedness." (The Peacemaker, sect. 6.) We fear that this would pass for little better, now-a-days, than a rag of "the Heresy of Hoadley," with the Consistory of Oriel, who, in their zeal for the rights of bishops, seem quite to have forgotten that antiquity is every whit as unanimously agreed in asserting the privileges of that council of the presbyters, without which the primitive bishop used ordinarily to do nothing of importance. Were we disposed to make a parade in that way we might easily crowd our pages with testimonies from the Fathers to this important fact; and whoever will look into Bingham's Sections upon Presbyters will (we hope) give us

credit for our abstinence, when he sees what facilities have been there provided for appearing learned with very little trouble. The Chapters of our Cathedrals were evidently designed to perform the functions of these primitive *Synedria;* and when the existence of these corporations was threatened in the reign of Charles I. their ablest defender came forward with a proposal to make them efficient for that purpose. (Hacket: see Carwithen's Hist. of the C. of England: vol. 2. p. 357.) Had that proposal been acted upon, we are persuaded the cathedrals would never have been brought now for a second time into their present imminent danger; and, we would humbly suggest to our Oxford brethren, when they go seriously to work with their "Second Reformation," that by such a measure as we allude to, they would not only restore (what we know *they* dearly love) an *ancient* constitution, but also (what *we* value still more highly) an *useful* one to boot. There is nothing in which we differ more from the church of the first ages—nothing in which our practice has given more scandal and offence to moderate men* among the Dissenters—almost nothing in our outward polity which has done more injury to the interests of the church than the private *autocratical* way in which the most important concerns of the diocese are often disposed of by our prelates. Who can doubt but that a public council of the chief presbyters of his diocese would be more likely to give their bishop upright, wholesome, and deliberate advice, than an agent or a private chaplain, or any of the thousand back-stair senators who usually beset the ear of a great man? For our part, we should look upon a reform of this kind as likely to infuse new life and vigour into our ecclesiastical administration, and to obtain for it a moral weight of influence which, it must be confessed on all hands, is at present greatly wanted.

But this is too important a suggestion to be handled slightly,† and we are in haste to pass to the *second* and more important head of our charge against the authors and admirers of the Tracts.

* Robert Hall, for instance: See his Life by Dr. Gregory.

† There is one great advantage, however, to which such an arrangement would probably lead, which we cannot pass over altogether in silence—the facility it would afford of freeing the Church from the opprobrious burden of its civil law courts, and the complicated intricacies of their practice. The lay-chancellors, and the enormities of the consistorial judicatories, have always been principal topics of complaint against our prelacy, and a reform in these matters was sometimes promised to the dissenters, but never performed. There is a curious anecdote on this subject told in Rogers's Life of Howe.

CHAPTER II.

TRADITION.

We mentioned an excessive respect for TRADITION as one of the heaviest of our charges against the Oxford school of divines; and we believe that, when our readers have duly considered the evidence of the extravagant way in which this treacherous guide is magnified by them, and compared the thing itself with the praises of its Protestant—we beg pardon—its *Anglican* admirers, they will be by no means disposed to esteem our fears of the consequences of such opinions unfounded, or our reprobation of them exaggerated or overcharged. Tradition is considered by the Oxford theologians as discharging two important functions, according as we regard it in its relation to *doctrine* or to *discipline*. *Dogmatically* it is supposed to consign us to the important truth, (the evidence of which is made wholly to depend upon its aid,) that the Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation, and to supersede the right of private judgment in eliciting these things from the Scripture so consigned, by the additional boon of an *authoritative* exposition of its meaning. In *discipline*, it is of even still greater importance; serving not only to confirm and explain the scattered hints upon that subject, to be gathered here and there in the Bible, but also to convey to us a rule in such matters, quite independent of the written word, though sanctioned by the same divine authority. In the first of these respects it seems to be treated of more systematically, though not enforced a whit more strongly, by Mr. Newman* and Professor Keble,† in two of their late publications, than in the tracts; and as it would be hypocritical affectation to pretend ignorance of those gentlemen's connexion with the immediate subject of our review, we shall take the liberty of occasionally quoting their sentiments from their acknowledged discourses, as well as the anonymous pamphlets which are under-

* Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church, by J. H. Newman. London: Rivington, 1837.

† Sermon on Primitive Tradition, by Rev. J. Keble. Third edition.

stood to be partly written, and wholly approved of by them. But before doing so, we beg earnestly to disclaim all share in, or approbation of, the personal violence with which they and (even still more perhaps) their coadjutor, Dr. Pusey, have sometimes been assailed—a violence the more inexcusable, because (whatever may be said of *their friends*,) it seems to have been in no way provoked on *their own* parts. Demanding for ourselves an unrestrained liberty of thinking freely, and as freely expressing what we think, we should be strangely inconsistent with our own principles, if we refused to others the same privilege. To reprobate the opinions we think erroneous, to expose the arguments we deem weak and insufficient, are things which appear to us to come fairly within our province; but personal animosity and angry vituperation we leave to those *qui nesciunt quanto labore veritas inveniatur et quam difficile caveantur errores, et quibus suspiriis et gemitibus, fiat ut ex quantulacunque parte intelligi possit Deus.* Those who take either side in a great public question are more responsible than they generally seem to think for the misconduct of their allies, and certainly are not quite exempt from blame, if they encourage *that* by their *silence*, which their conscience will not suffer them to *praise*, and a politic regard for party forbids them to *reprehend*. This is our reason for interposing a protest which may appear to some uncalled for, and to others injudicious; and having now delivered our own souls, we proceed to address ourselves to the important argument which lies before us.

We need hardly tell our readers that we differ widely from the Oxford school in both the positions which we have explained. Indeed those positions are so much at variance with the principles upon which the Reformation has usually been defended by its greatest champions, that we do not wonder at the dread of Popery which has been inspired by the promulgation of them. Still no question should be decided by antecedent presumptions, where it is possible to examine it in detail, and we are confident that a very slight examination will suffice to show that there is no evidence adequate to convince any reasonable man, if he do but weigh it fairly, that the Holy Spirit ever intended for the church any rule, independent of Scripture, and delivered down by ecclesiastical tradition, or that it is possible to collect the apostolic doctrine in this way, upon any points concerning faith or practice, upon which we have not far *clearer* and *more satis-*

factory information from the Bible itself. We do not pretend to enter into a full examination of the subject, but we are confident that we shall say quite enough to guard our readers against any thing that may seem specious in the very shallow plausibilities which have been advanced on the other side, and indicate, at least, some of those general considerations which may tend to give satisfaction to an impartial mind in forming its own judgment upon the subject.

Mr. Keble has taken a great deal of pains, (but, as it seems to us, to very little purpose,) to prove that, *previous to the completion of the Canon of the New Testament*, there was a received code of apostolic traditions, well known and recognised by all Christian churches as their rule of faith and morals. Now, even if he could prove this point, it would serve his cause very little, however well a dexterous Jesuit might be able to press it into the Papal service. For since he must needs confess that every doctrine contained in this traditive code is also, for the matter and substantially contained in Holy Scripture too, and since we have undoubtedly better evidence for the integrity of the written than of the unwritten word, it plainly becomes our duty to use the first as a test to try the sincerity of the other. But a test, to be rightly applied, must be rightly understood; so that, after all we are compelled to expound the sense of Scripture for ourselves, before we can arrive at that full satisfaction concerning the uncorrupted purity of our traditions, which we are bound to seek for when the materials are within our reach.

But now, when we have done all this, and fairly proved our creed out of the Bible, most men, we think, will agree with us that we have done enough, and may wish the admirers of antiquity joy of their long and tortuous voyage back again to the same port, through an ocean of bishops and doctors, and saints and councils, from Clement of Rome to the Abbot of Clairvaux, whose "well-according strife" of mutual and self-contradictions makes up that harmonious *Consensus Patrum* which chimes so sweetly in the ears of all *Orthodox* Divines. But in truth, we think that Mr. Keble has very insufficiently established the existence of any methodised system of traditional theology in the early church, as a rule independent of the apostolic writings. By the same act of faith which admitted a man into the communion of the church, he implicitly assented to the infallible authority of the apostles. Hence, *whatever* they taught us was, to

him, equally indispensable to be believed, and, consequently, there was but little need of any formal division of the matter of their teaching into fundamentals and non-fundamentals, principles and consequences. That the individuals who actually heard the apostles preach would naturally store up in their memories, and frequently commit to *writing* too, the gracious words which fell from their lips, is, of course, most certain; but while there was an unerring living judge of all controversies of faith extant in the world, and the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, poured out in rich abundance, supplied inspired prophets and teachers in the scattered congregations of Christians, it was by no means necessary that any systematic code of divinity should be compiled as an authentic standard, and sanctioned by the public sentence of the church; and now, when the college of apostles had become extinct, and the miraculous gift of the Spirit had ceased, THE HOLY SCRIPTURES came immediately into their place, the canon of which (notwithstanding all the wrong-headed paradoxes of Dodwell,) has been often shown to have been completed, and recognized throughout the churches, before the death of St. John. This seems to us by far the most natural account of the matter, and nothing can be weaker than the attempt at Biblical evidence which Mr. Keble has ventured upon. He endeavours to show that the "Deposit" (παρακατα θὴκη) "command" (ἐντολὴ) "faithful sayings" (λογοι πίστοι) "charge" (παραγγελια), which occur in the epistles to Timothy, are (as he expresses it,) "parts of the vocabulary of the Holy Catholic Church," or technical terms denoting a well-known and well-acknowledged standard of the true doctrines of the faith. But now, in the first place, does it not seem rather an arbitrary process by which the existence of a *single* and *definite* code is collected from such a *multitude* of denominations, occurring within the compass of a very few pages in the writings of an individual author? This seems to argue a greater copiousness in the "vocabulary of the Holy Catholic Church" than one would naturally have expected to find so early, and may lead us to suspect that this variety of appellation has regard to a similar variety of subjects. Nor will our suspicions be abated if we look a little more narrowly into the context of the passages where they occur. 1 Tim. i. 3, we read, "As I besought thee to abide in Ephesus.....that thou shouldst *charge* (παραγγείλῃς) some that they preach no other doctrine, neither

give heed to fables and endless genealogies.....so do. Now the end of *this charge* (*τῆς παραγγελίας*) is charity," &c. Now can any one, who looks at the original, doubt but that the article here refers to the cognate word preceding, and that *the charge* in verse 5 is the same as that in verse 3? We meet the same word again at verse 18; and there it certainly belongs to Timothy's immediate duty in regulating affairs at Ephesus. "*This* charge (*ταύτην τὴν π.*) I commit unto thee," &c. Again, at chapter vi. verse 11, we have a specific commandment first given: "But thou, O man of God, flee these things; follow after righteousness, &c. Fight the good fight, lay hold upon eternal life," &c. After which immediately follows: "I charge thee before God.....and Christ Jesus,.....that thou keep *this* commandment (*τὴν ἐντολὴν*) pure and undefiled,* unto the appearing of the Lord." And to this sense agrees Theodoret, one of the greatest of the Greek fathers: *τὴν ἐντολὴν τουτέστι ταῦτα ἅ* ΓΡΑΦΩ. Finally, having now brought his epistle to a close, he subjoins, at verse 20—"O Timothy, keep *this which is committed to thee* (*την παρακαταθήκην*)." But the passage which most clearly disproves the notion of a technical appropriation of this term, is found in immediate connexion with the very one which Mr. Keble has selected for his text. 2 Tim. i. 12, et seq. "I know," says St. Paul, "whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that he is able to keep *my deposit* (*τὴν παρακαταθήκην μου*) unto that day. Keep the pattern *ὑποτύπωσιν*) of sound words which thou hast heard of me.....*That* good deposit (*τὴν παρακαταθήκην*) guard through the Holy Ghost that dwelleth in us." Now, here not only is the word in question referred to special instructions given to Timothy, but used so little in any technical appropriation of meaning, that it is applied, in the verse immediately preceding, to quite a different subject—viz. the apostle's own soul, which he had learned to commit unto God's keeping, as unto a faithful creator.† Thus

* The words *ἄσπιλον* and *ἀνεπίληπτον* seem rather (as Erasmus has remarked) to belong to the *σε* preceding than to *ἐντολὴν*.

† So Grotius "Habemus in hoc et 14 commate mentionem depositi duplicis. Deus apud nos deponit verbum suum, nos apud Deum deponimus spiritum nostrum. Luc. xxiii. 40. Act vii. 59. Also, upon v. 13, *ὑποτύπωσις*, *exemplar* ut 1 Tim. i. 1. Sed hic intellige exemplar in animo infixum, quod *ἰδέαν* Platonici vocant." So, Theodoret also, *μιμοῦν, φησι, τοὺς ζωγράφους, καὶ καθάπερ ἐκεῖνοι τῖς ἀρχετύποις προσέχοντες, σὺν ἀκριβείᾳ ἐκείνων ζωγραφοῦσιν εἰκόνας οὕτω καὶ σὺ οἷον τι ἀρχέτυπον ἔχε τὴν παρ' ἐμοῦ περὶ πίστεως καί ἀγάπης γεγενημενην διδασκαλίαν.* Theodoret explains the *παραθήκη* of Timothy's alacrity in God's service, which was a gift conferred by the Holy Ghost.

a mere examination of the context of those passages upon which he has endeavoured to found it, is sufficient to dissipate that baseless fabric in whose erection Mr. Keble has wasted so much unprofitable pains. We suppose that we may now leave this part of the subject, without any detailed examination of the λόγοι πιστοι, and their *rhythmical structure*, (which, by the way, it requires the practised ear of a *poetical* professor to discover,) as things on which the learned author himself scarcely intended to lay any important stress. The phrases alluded to occur only in one particular portion of St. Paul's writings, and surely it is no more unaccountable that he should have used this form of speech, to introduce *his own remarks*, only here, than that he should, only here, have alluded, in such terms, to the supposed traditionary code.

But here let us not be mistaken or misrepresented. That the apostles delivered oral instructions to their disciples, that it was their duty to treasure up and attend to those instructions, and that before the written word had been consigned to the faithful, these instructions were the rule by which their faith and practice were to be directed, are propositions which we cordially assent to. But, that their tradition was ever intended to be a permanent rule, for the direction of the church, independent of the Holy Scriptures, now completed, is a thing which we look on as so highly improbable, from the circumstances of the case, that nothing but finding it a matter of express revelation could induce us to believe it. Let us consider for a moment what—supposing them honest and intelligent men—the duty of the rulers of the early church would have been if the apostles had only left them in possession of an *oral* deposit. Surrounded as they were with dangers to the integrity of its transmission, both from within and from without, would it not, naturally, have been their first business to take the obvious precaution of drawing up in *writing*, a full and authorised collection of the traditions they had received, and thereby guarding, as far as possible, against the evil effects of neglect or dishonesty in their successors? That doctrines are more securely transmitted by *oral* than by *written* tradition, has, indeed, been asserted by some paradoxical defenders of the Church of Rome, whose absurdity has been rendered "immortal in its own despite," by the wit and genius of their

illustrious confuter Tillotson,* but it is, on the whole, such a thesis as nobody, we presume, at the present day, would choose to make himself notorious by maintaining. Now that very thing which would have been the first duty of honest and intelligent men (supposing it had been left to them) was actually undertaken and performed by the Holy Spirit himself, who, doubtless, foresaw how foully, in after ages, the conduit was to be polluted through which the stream of tradition must needs have passed. Can we doubt, then, but that it was designed to accomplish the same object, and supersede a method of transmitting truth exposed to the greatest difficulties and dangers, and which experience had already proved to be liable to the grossest abuses? Thus the very fact of the gospel having been committed to writing is a recognition of the inefficiency of traditive conveyance, and affords an antecedent presumption against any rule pretending to be delivered down in that way.

Let it be remembered, too, that the Christian was not an isolated revelation, but grounded upon one still more ancient, and related to that elder one in almost all its parts. The notion of a written rule of faith was nothing new or singular in the church; for such a rule the Jewish people had before, and one of the heaviest charges which our Lord and the apostles urged against their teachers was their deterioration of this PERFECT RULE by the admittance of the *oral law*.

This idea, then, of a *complete canon of faith* formed an integral part of the orthodox conception of the character of the Hebrew SCRIPTURES. When, therefore, the term γραφή, which was appropriated to the designation of that canon, is transferred (as it is both by St. Paul and St. Peter) to the writings of the New Testament, we naturally understand it in the same sense: and it certainly lies upon those who will not stand by this analogy to show some *positive presumption* against its justice, before they can be allowed to have any reasonable pretext for rejecting it. The celebrated passage, 2 Tim. iii. 15, seems to set this analogy in so strong a light that it will be worth our while to examine it somewhat narrowly. "I know," says St. Paul, "that, from a child, thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to *make thee wise* unto salvation, *through the faith that is in Jesus. All* Scripture is given by inspiration of

* See his "Rule of Faith."

God, and is profitable for *doctrine* (διδασκαλίαν), for *reproof* (ἔλεγχος),* for correction (ἐπανορθωσιν), for instruction (παιδείαν) in righteousness; that the man of God may be PERFECT, *thoroughly furnished unto all good works.*" Let us attend here to the strict propriety of the terms in which the apostle marks out the *specific manner* in which the *Old Testament* performs its object. "The Holy Scriptures," says he, "are able to *make thee wise* (ΣΟΦΙΣΑΙ) unto salvation, *through faith in Jesus Christ.*" In other words, the law, having a shadow of good things to come, was our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ, for this term (σοφία) *wisdom*, has been proved to have a sense appropriated to a knowledge of the relations subsisting between the elder and latter dispensations.† So much, then, for the *specific* character of the Old Testament; but when he goes on to add the *generic* notion of all Scripture as such, he gives, as we shall see, a complete arrangement of the whole science of theology, for in the verse following he seems to have struck out the true idea of all that can properly pretend to that title.

I. The FOUNDATION of it is laid in the inspiration of the vehicle of its conveyance, which inspiration, adequately insuring its infallibility, we may hence certainly derive—

1. Doctrine, or the *Dogmatic*, part Divinity.

2. Reproof, by which it is clear we must understand the *polemical.*

This comprehends all the *speculative* portion: next comes the *practical.* It is profitable also for

3. Correction; and 4. Instruction in righteousness. And the end of this master science is,

II. That the man of God may be *perfect*, thoroughly furnished for every good work.

So finely accurate are all the apostle's expressions,—so pregnant with instruction many a passage which we are apt to pass over with a careless negligence! Now, that this elaborate enumeration should be given, and Scripture declared to be useful for *every* part and member of divine knowledge, merely to enforce the truth that it "must *help* to the perfection and entire furnishing of the man of God," is, to say the least of it, rather a strain to serve an hypothesis; for, since the apostle is plainly

* Ad refutandos et profligandos religionis christianæ adversarios.—Schleusner in voc.

† See Dr. Henderson's Lectures on Inspiration.

speaking of Scripture in general, and in the notion of it, the only *general* reason why, in order to their end of *perfecting* the godly, it should extend to *every department* of revealed truth, must needs be that it was intended to be their *complete and sufficient rule* in all things touching that perfection.

It would be ludicrous, if the subject were not so serious, to see how Mr. Newman* struggles to evade the force of this analogy, by a number of hypothetical distinctions between the two cases, which might, perhaps, some of them, be let to pass, if they professed only to *account* for something already established by *positive* evidence, but which so good a logician as he is ought to have known are of no sort of weight when used as *negative* presumptions. He tells us, for instance, that one of the reasons why the Jewish church had a sufficient written rule, *may have been* that theirs was a carnal, ceremonial religion, which required that every thing should be clearly and definitely laid down, whereas ours is a law of love, in which small probabilities and slight hints are sufficient. This we take to be the most considerable thing he says, and not to mention that it is a gross instance of the radical fallacy just exposed, (a fallacy which, if it were once admitted, would make short work of the analogical way of reasoning altogether,) it seems to come with a very bad grace, indeed, from one whose favourite topic is the uncertainty of Scripture, without the aid of traditionary interpretation!

But, it is said, tradition after all is the ground upon which you believe the genuineness and authenticity of the Scriptures themselves. We answer, True; tradition is, indeed, the *principal* ground upon which we believe these *facts*, and when they produce to us *a tradition so circumstanced and verified*, to any other *facts*, we shall believe them also no less firmly. An historical tradition was the chief ground of faith in Scripture to the Jews also; but this did not hinder their canon from being an exclusive rule; and surely it is a strange logic by which it is inferred that, because Scripture must needs depend upon some species of external evidence, it was not intended to supersede other means of information, where that species of external evidence, from the nature of things conveyed, which are *doctrines* and not *facts*, can neither apply so certainly, nor is to be had in

* Lectures, p. 332.

any thing approaching to the same degree of strength, if it could. In fact, if it were nothing else, *experience* shows that the difference between the two cases is immeasurable, since it is found impossible, permanently and materially, to corrupt a book, the copies of which are scattered over a great surface, whereas nothing is more certain than the frequent corruptions of mere oral traditions of *doctrines*, however widely diffused. Nor can the arguments already adduced be shaken until some tradition of a *fact*, intended to be revealed to us, can be produced, supported on similar historic evidence to that upon which the authenticity of Scripture rests, or it can be shown to be a valid consequence that because ONE TRUTH, peculiarly circumstantiated, might be safely trusted to an universal tradition, very peculiarly circumstantiated also, therefore *a great body of various doctrines, rites, and ceremonies*, might be just as safely trusted also to the same conveyance.

There is this great disadvantage (amongst many others) attendant upon oral tradition, as a means of conveying doctrines, that, whatever is communicated to us by another, takes such a colour from our own habits of mind and modes of thought, and becomes so interwoven with our own inferences and deductions, from what we take to be its meaning, that when we come in our turn, to transmit what we had received to others, the original deposit is no longer what it was, but marvellously enlarged and altered from its primitive simplicity. Thus, when the number of minds through which it has to pass is considerable, the first tradition is so greatly (but, at the same time so insensibly) changed by the influence of individual opinions, and prevailing fashions in philosophy or religion, that, at last, like Ovid's young lady—

Pars minima est ipsa puella sui.

Mr. Keble, we doubt not, is a stout Arminian, and utterly opposed to Calvinism in every shape and form; let us then take an example, where he will feel its stringency. Had the books of the New Testament never been written, but the information contained in them delivered down, *in the same form of words*, to be transmitted to posterity by oral tradition only, can any one doubt but that the Synod of Dort, for instance, would have as unhesitatingly determined, that the tenets of Arminius were contrary to the Holy and Catholic Tradition of the Church, as they did determine them to be opposed to the sacred Scrip-

tures? Being (as they were) uncompromising Calvinists; and persuaded (as they were) that the Calvinistic sense of revelation was its legitimate and proper meaning, it is impossible that they could have acted otherwise. Put, now, the Dordrechtan in the place of the Nicene Fathers, and Mr. Keble will be obliged to own the wisdom of God's providence, in placing us in a condition to judge for ourselves, whether those who pretend to be the depositaries of Christ's traditions, have, in reality, formed a just and adequate conception of their meaning. For the difference between the case supposed, and the case actually existing, is just this:—in the former, we should be wholly dependent on the testimony of *persons*—the teachers of the Church;—who, being from various prejudices and false principles deceived themselves, must needs also lead those astray who follow in their track: in the latter, we are not dependent on *persons* at all, but on the *authentic record* itself, of that inspired preaching, from which our teachers as well as ourselves must ultimately derive their information. In the former case, we should have to take the water of life, as we found it in its distant streams, discoloured and defiled by the foreign tincture of every soil it traversed in its progress: in the latter, we drink it at the fountain-head, as it springs, in all its native freshness and unsullied purity, from beside the eternal throne of God.

But to come from general to particular instances; we do not hesitate to say that there is nothing which, with any shadow of reason, has been attempted to be proved an universal tradition in the early ages, which cannot be much more clearly traced to the apostles, through the medium of the Holy Scriptures. For our own parts, without intending to disparage the applauded labours of Bull and Waterland, we must own that the doctrine of the Trinity seems to us to be capable of a proof from the Bible far simpler, easier, and more evident than any which can be produced to show that it was the universal belief in the age after the apostolic.

"Were the Scripture revelation," says Dr. Clarke, "like the heathen pretended oracles of old, only one *single obscure sentence*, it might, indeed, with some colour of reason have been alleged, that for the right understanding of it, it were necessary to depend on other following authorities. But the case of the Scripture revelation is far otherwise. Our Saviour's own discourses are here set down *at large*, in no less than *four different*

Gospels. The doctrine his disciples preached afterwards, is recorded distinctly more than once in the Acts of the Apostles; and the controversies that arose in their own times, gave occasion further for *very large and particular explications* of that whole doctrine in their several *Epistles.* There are contained in the New Testament, *twenty-seven several books*, written at *different times*, and *in different places*, by *eight several inspired authors:* and the texts of each author may, in case of difficulty, be compared with other texts of the same author, in other parts of the same book, and with other texts of the same author in different books, written upon other occasions; and, moreover, with the texts of other inspired authors, writing likewise upon the same subject. And can it enter into the heart of any reasonable man to imagine, that after all this, any doctrine of importance should not, in such *large*, such *explicit*, such *repeated* instructions, be made known as *fully*, as *clearly*, and *distinctly*, as the Revealer of it intended it should be known at all? The writings of any *uninspired author* are usually well enough understood, by impartial persons comparing one place of his writings with another, and considering without prejudice what is the result of the whole. And is the *Scripture alone* such a book, as, in doctrines of great importance, and mentioned in almost *every page* of the book, nevertheless, by the most diligent study, and by the most careful comparing of the several texts, one with another, and interpreting the figurative expressions by the plain ones, cannot at last be understood without some *new authoritative explication?*" Letter to Dr. Wells, &c. pp. 17, 18.

Nor can we see any reason, even from the Fathers themselves, to lead us to suppose that they were in possession of any such authentic body of traditions as Mr. Keble speaks of. Irenæus, indeed, in the second century, appeals to tradition; but against whom?—and for what? Against heretics who pretended to an oral law, delivered down from the apostles, and for the purpose of establishing partly the mere obvious fundamentals of the Gospel, (which he affirms, and we know without him, to be abundantly clear in Scripture—nay, so clear that the heretics rejected it for that reason,) and partly the genuineness and authenticity of those very Scriptures themselves. When the good father travels beyond these, it is but too evident how grievously he hallucinates; as, for instance, where he alleges the apostolic tradition that Christ preached for near twenty

years; which, however, we know to be false upon some better evidence than the equally apostolic tradition, vouched by Clemens Alexandrinus, that he preached only one year. It is in defence of the same simple truths that Tertullian's great book of the Præscriptions is designed. His argument displays all his characteristic dialectical subtility. The Neologians of those times urged the text, "seek and ye shall find," as a pretext for still searching for discoveries in the fundamentals of Christianity; which inquiry they pursued by a perverse application of the false and arbitrary principles of allegoric interpretation, common amongst the Fathers themselves, to such portions of the sacred text as they chose to admit for genuine. Tertullian answers that this command was addressed to those who were not yet believers, but the Scriptures were given to the church, who became members of that body by the belief of certain fundamental doctrines; and he *prescribes* against them (as the language of the civil law was) by an appeal to the notorious faith of all the churches then in the world, to show that they had no right to claim an interest in the Scripture, which was only given to the church. We may think as we please of this argument; which, to say truth, like most of Tertullian's, is rather perplexing than convincing; but certainly it shows that he was aware of no universal tradition relating to any thing but the very elementary parts of the Christian Revelation—such parts as, with any reasonable principles of interpretation, are abundantly clear from the Bible itself. It was not until after his time that it began to be discovered how much more favourable the dim twilight of tradition was to the prestiges of priestcraft, than the broad steady illumination of scriptural truth.

Mr. Keble seems to feel the difficulty of making out, in particular cases, any circumstantial and full evidence of the apostolic origin of the traditions he is contending for, and he takes the following strange way of getting out of it:—

"If any one ask, how we ascertain them; we answer, by application of the well-known rule, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus:* Antiquity, Universality, Catholicity: tests similar to those which jurists are used to apply to the common or unwritten laws of any realm. If a maxim or custom can be traced back to a time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary; if it pervade all the different courts, established in different provinces for the administration of justice; and, thirdly, if it be generally acknowledged in such sort, that contrary decisions have been disallowed and held invalid: then, whatever the exceptions to it may be, it is presumed to be part and parcel of our common law. On principles exactly

analogous, the Church practices and rules above mentioned, and several others, ought, we contend, apart from all Scripture evidence, to be received as traditionary or common laws ecclesiastical. They who contend that the very notion of such tradition is a mere dream and extravagance; who plead against it the uncertainty of history, the loss or probable corruption of records, the exceptions, deviations, interruptions which have occurred through the temporary prevalence of tyranny, heresy, or schism; must, if they would be consistent, deny the validity of the most important portion of the laws of this, and of most other old countries."

Now, 1st, as to the rule of *Vincentius Lirinensis*, it has always appeared to us a sounding nothing; for by always admitting an appeal to the age preceding it brings us back ultimately to the times of the apostles, and their writings, which are no other than the inspired Scriptures themselves. Now, as Bishop Taylor well puts it, "he that is near the head of the Volga, need not go to the place of its junction with the sea, and thence trace it back again, but may well spare his pains in that particular by beginning where that tedious search would end."*

2. The analogy of civil courts is here nothing to the purpose; by reason that, in them, it is not *abstract truth*, but *public convenience*, which regulates the practice; and, therefore, settled custom, and the advantages thereof may well weigh against speculative exceptions: nor is it necessary, for his ready obedience, that every citizen should be sincerely persuaded that a maxim is grounded in reason, or a particular exposition of a law *right*, but only that it is taken and allowed to be so by the public authorities, who are the constituted judges of such matters. When Mr. Keble can show us that it is the same in the Church of Christ, we shall confess that his analogy is of some avail.

But who constituted the Fathers judges for us of the true meaning of holy Scripture, or where is there a vestige to be found of a traditive interpretation of Scripture? What Father ever claims such a possession for himself, of the earlier and better ages? or thinks himself absolutely bound by the decisions of his brethren? Surely, so learned a man as Mr. Keble must have seen Whitby's Collection of Jewels out of this "rich mine;" and yet with a perfect knowledge of the ridiculous *principles* which they followed in expounding the Scriptures, he perversely determines to follow the *results* of so strange and unreasonable a method of exposition. How ill-adapted minds

* See Lardner in his Credibility on Vincentius.

schooled in the wrong principles of those times were to apprehend rightly the true genius and drift of Christianity, any reader of the New Testament will be able to decide, who reflects on the perpetual mistakes and misconceptions of the apostles themselves before their illumination by the Holy Spirit, and the dread which, after that event, they uniformly exhibit of an accommodation of the Gospel to that false philosophy and vain deceit which had so deeply tinged the intellects of men, that there was scarce a possibility of their own pure doctrines passing through them without being discoloured by some sordid stain. Let us consider that one of the strongest marks of that divine inspiration, under which the Scriptures were composed, is the *difference* which is to be found in their whole tenor from the prevailing tone and cast of thought in that generation—the absence of that sophistical chicane, and those mistaken notions of morality, which spoiled the logic and defiled the ethics of the age that they were penned in, and which, if God had not interposed, would certainly have intruded themselves even into the sanctuary of his word, and profaned it by their unholy presence.* Now, works so much *beyond their age* were not likely to be best understood by those who came fresh from the study of models full of all the imperfections and vices which then predominated. And in point of fact, it is notorious that the *earliest* Fathers, such as Barnabas, Clemens, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Origen, are the most intolerable and fantastic expositors, while the *later*, who went upon the principles of common sense, are much to be preferred, as Chrysostom, Gregory, Basil, and, above all, Theodoret.

We had intended to enter into a pretty large examination of the peculiar circumstances of the early church, and those traits in the character of the Fathers which render them very unsafe guides in matters of either faith or discipline, but our contracting limits warn us to conclude. We trust that, either explicitly or substantially, we have answered most that, with any show of novelty, has been urged from the other side upon this important subject. As to the old, and often refuted arguments, borrowed from the armory of a Bellarmine, a Perron, or a Bossuet, we might easily make a parade by repeating the answers of a

* We rejoice to see that a new edition of Daillè on the Fathers has been lately published. Mr. Osburn on the errors of the early Fathers may also be consulted.

Chillingworth, a Stillingfleet, a Daillè, or a Claude; but we hope that the day is coming when our students will be so conversant with the immortal works of those great defenders of our faith, as to be quite safe from the blunted shafts which have recoiled from their shields. We have no lack of weapons ready to our hands—

> "In our halls is hung
> Armour of the invincible knights of old;"

and the panoply of proof, which has been tried in many a stern encounter, will be found still sufficient protection against the keenest sword of the skilfulest polemic.

There will still, of course, remain much specious declamation upon the dangers of private judgment, and the presumption of opposing our reason to the sentence of the Catholic Church. That the student of Holy Scripture is beset with dangers, we do not mean to deny; but, in this world of trial and temptation, is there any place in which, if he will manfully perform the duty which God has assigned him, he can hope to be exempt from them? Or is there any danger more pressing or more pernicious than that of shrinking from the labour which the Almighty has allotted to the sons of men to exercise themselves therein?—any temptation more seductive than that sloth which would induce us to take refuge in the decisions of an infallible authority, or that impatience of contradiction which makes us unwilling to tolerate any difference of opinion, and prompts us to domineer over the faith of our brethren, when we are unable to convince their reasons? The wheat and the tares must grow together, until the harvest of the earth is ripe. The final decision of our disputes must be put off until that great day, when the only Infallible Judge, "unto whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid," shall come to reward and punish his servants; then, if those who have squandered their Lord's money shall be visited with righteous vengeance, we may be sure that neither shall they escape who have buried their talent in the earth, and neglected to traffic on that stock, which was only intrusted to them to be used.

To conclude with the admirable summary of Bishop Taylor: "Since the Fathers, who are the best witnesses of traditions, yet were infinitely deceived in their account; since sometimes they guessed at them, and conjectured by way of rule and discourse, and not of their knowledge, not by evidence of the

thing; since many are called traditions which were not so, many are uncertain whether they were or no, yet confidently pretended—and this uncertainty, which at first was great enough, is increased by infinite causes and accidents, in the succession of sixteen hundred years; since the Church had been either so careless or so abused, that she could not, or would not, preserve traditions with carefulness and truth; since it was ordinary for the old writers to set out their own fancies and the rites of the Church, which had been ancient, under the specious title of apostolical traditions; since some traditions rely but upon single testimony at first, yet, descending upon others, come to be attested by many, whose testimony, though conjunct, yet in value is but single, because it relies upon the first single relater, and so can have no greater authority or certainty than they derive from the single person; since the first ages, who were most competent to consign tradition, yet did consign such traditions as be of a nature wholly discrepant from the present questions, and speak nothing at all, or very imperfectly, to our purposes, and the following ages are no fit witnesses of that which was not transmitted to them, because they could not know it at all but by such transmission and prior consignation; . . . . and, lastly, since besides the no necessity of traditions, there being abundantly enough in Scripture, there are many things called traditions by the Fathers, which they themselves either proved by no authors, or by apocryphal, and spurious, and heretical;—the matter of tradition will, in very much, be so uncertain, so false, so suspicious, so contradictory, so unproved, that if a question be contested, and be offered to be proved only by tradition, it will be very hard to impose such a proposition to the belief of all men, with any imperiousness, or resolved determination; but it will be necessary men should preserve the liberty of believing and prophesying, and not part with it, upon a worse merchandise and exchange than Esau made for his birthright."—*Liberty of Prophesying, sect.* v.

CHAPTER III.

THE SACRAMENTS.

It is told, we remember, of Archbishop Leighton, that once when upon a periodical assembly of the presbytery to which he belonged, the question (usual at that unhappy season) "Do you preach *to the times?*" had been put severally to each of his brother ministers, and by each answered in the affirmative, he, when it came to his turn to stand the interrogation, broke out into this passionate remonstrance—"Alas! when so many of God's servants are preaching to the *Times*, will you not suffer one poor pastor to instruct his people for eternity?" We are afraid that the high-church party, at the present day, are too justly open to the same rebuke; and that, in their zeal for ceremonies, and forms, and external union—for the "tithing of mint, and anise, and cummin"—they are apt to merge the "weightier matters of the law" as things of secondary importance, or as if the necessity of inculcating *them* could vary with the circumstances of the popular opinion. Of course we are not so unreasonable as to complain of any man, or body of men, writing books and pamphlets to bring what they look upon as (in any degree) important matters into public notice, or that, professing to treat of certain subjects, they should confine themselves to those subjects; but we think that where the subject is one so important as religion, and where the advocacy of the principles which our brethren have adopted, is so warmly and indefatigably prosecuted as it is at present, the subordination of those things which they are urging upon the church, to the great doctrines which are the prime movers of saving faith, should, at least, be distinctly recognised by Christians who know the tendency of the human mind to deem those points most important about which it is most excited at the moment, and the bias of our corrupt nature to substitute a flaming zeal in behalf of *externals*, for a regard of those great ends on account of which external observances are themselves enjoined.

Now, we think, that we not only observe a *deficiency*, in this respect, in the conduct of our Oxford brethren, but even a tendency *in themselves* to verge towards the extreme which we look on as the goal in the direction of which their inconsiderate behaviour is, at any rate, likely to drive their admirers. We think that we can perceive a tendency towards that strange notion (which, by the way, is no other than the first principle of the *Puritans,)* that divine origination reduces all commands to the same category, or, at least, to measure their mutual subordination rather by the standard of church practice and the technical arrangements of creeds and confessions, than by deductions from the great tenor of holy Scripture itself, the principles of right reason, and the spirit and character of the Gospel dispensation. Besides this, it is unfortunately too evident that the masters in this new school are already possessed with such opinions upon the most vital points of Christian doctrine, as render it impossible for *them* (even if they were so inclined) to remedy the mischief they are doing, by a sufficient infusion of that knowledge which maketh wise unto salvation—that knowledge without which ceremony is but an empty show, and zeal for the church the madness of sectarian bigotry. The ablest of the whole party, Mr. Newman, declares himself, on the question of justification, a follower of Bishop Bull; and his coadjutors, Mr. Keble and Dr. Pusey, are plainly in the same sentiments; and it is to be feared, that the still greater corruption of the truth adopted by Alexander Knox from Grotius has spread even more widely, amongst the admirers of antiquity. And, on the whole, we do not hesitate to say, that we are persuaded in our consciences (when we look upon the dangers which threaten from without, and the ignorance, levity, and indiscretion which are displayed by too many within our camp,) that the great doctrine of the Reformation—justification by faith only—is, once more, brought into imminent peril of being corrupted or wholly lost in England, and that its preservation (if indeed it is to be preserved) must depend, under God, on the earnest, but, at the same time, judicious and soberly directed exertions of those who know and value the freeness of the Gospel of Christ. Happily we are not without those upon our side who are able to discharge the important task efficiently. We allude to one in particular, whose former labours in support of this great article of faith have entitled him to be considered as

its chief champion amongst us. The subject, we remember, (though the learned author by so long delaying a second edition, seems half inclined that we should forget it)—the subject, we say, has been already handled by Dr. O'Brien, in such a manner as that, though he asserted nothing which the Protestant churches have not always held, and the fathers of the Reformation always inculcated, yet the excellence of the method, the judiciousness and cogency of his proofs, and the lights reflected upon the whole matter from the soundest theological learning, and a large and comprehensive knowledge of the truest philosophical principles, gave an air of originality to the discussion, which he disdained to seek for by the petty arts that *novelty-hunters* have recourse to. We can propose no better model to any who shall hereafter take part in the same most important controversy; and it would have been well if all who followed him had preserved the like sobriety and moderation. It must surely be evident to the most careless observer that the danger occasioned by the Oxford theology is not confined to the indiscriminate reception of it by its adherents, but that peril may also be apprehended from the inclination towards a *wholesale* rejection of whatever comes from a suspected quarter, which prevails so strongly in the human mind. Thus *discretion* is quite as necessary as *zeal*, in those who would offer any efficient resistance to the incursions of this active enemy.

We have been led to make these remarks by the nature of that part of our subject which we are to treat of in this concluding portion of our Review,—" the last and weightiest remains of this great controversy"—the nature and proper office of the Christian SACRAMENTS. And, as some of the worst and deadliest errors of the Oxonians are to be found in their doctrines concerning these, so it will be our endeavour, in exposing such faults, to preserve the reader from that violent revulsion to a contrary extreme, which (unhappily) is the too natural effect of our horror at other men's extravagance.

Man is essentially a social being, and Christianity (which was intended to remedy the evils which he had brought upon himself, in this capacity as in every other,) was framed by its great Author with far too skilful an adaptation to his real nature to be left to work its effect as a bare speculative creed—" a divine philosophy in the mind"—concerned only with individuals, and totally irrespective of those larger aggregates, by which indivi-

duals are bound and knit together as members of the same *artificial body.*

Even Natural Religion, in its naked simplicity, would have required some external incorporation of its members, and the body is not more closely united to the soul, than the outward observances of religion,—the necessary symbols of inward communion, which, operating through the fancy, are increased and heightened by the *example* and *sympathy* of our fellows, are associated with the internal feelings of the mind. But when Christianity had drawn mankind into a stricter bond, and no longer a mere sharing in common humanity, but a participating in the same spirit, a partaking (as St. Peter calls it) of the *divine nature,* gave the fellowship of the Church a more intimate connexion and a holier character of sanctity, the more vivid sense of brotherhood thus created, imparted fresh definiteness and permanence to the form of religious society; while our blessed Saviour himself enforced the institution by new sanctions, and indissolubly linked together the open *profession* of his faith with the sincere *reception* of it, by establishing two FUNDAMENTAL ORDINANCES, as the outward and visible signs of the *conveyance* of those primary graces, which form the very essential character of Christian men *as such.* These ordinances, then, having relation to *special promises,* tied to them as the enjoined pledges of their fulfilment, and not working their effect by mere natural means of operation, were evidently immutable in themselves, by any but the same authority which imposed them. But such other rites of the apostolic church as, though partaking of the nature of sacraments in being signs, were signs only on *our parts* and not on *God's,* and wrought by the natural efficiency of their significations, with a blessing derived only from the *general* promise, that "to him that asketh" grace "it shall be given"—these, it is evident had, in no respects, the same attributes of durability. For, although God alone can declare what shall be the tokens of his covenant with the church, yet surely, if there be any such thing as ecclesiastical authority at all, it must extend to those matters of outward decency in public worship, whose propriety must ever vary with the changes of time and place, and the fluctuation of national manners and dispositions. Indeed, the obstinate temper of the Jewish people, (whose neck was an iron sinew,) their irrecoverable proneness to lapse into idolatrous observances, the typical nature of their

ceremonies (conveying lessons which had not as yet been clearly announced by the Spirit of knowledge and revelation,)—these, and many other causes which might be enumerated, rendered it fitting that the Mosaic Law should prescribe every the least particular of Divine worship with the minutest scrupulosity, "according to the pattern in the Mount;" for all which the temporary duration and confined limits of that economy afforded the greatest facilities. Accordingly we find in the Old Testament, that full and complete directions were given upon this subject, and the strictest injunctions imposed neither to add to, or diminish from, the smallest particle of what was commanded.

But now, in the case of the Christian Church, which is a *society at large*, universal in its extent, and perpetual in its duration, informed by the most perspicuous declarations of the Divine will, and supported by the full outpouring of the Holy Ghost, (which is the distinctive feature of the present dispensation,) a similar exactness is obviously not required. Hence the perfect canon *of our* religious duty—the New Testament—contains no body of detailed *precepts* on such subjects, and furnishes us with nothing but a very few hints, and those extremely obscure and ambiguous, of even the *practice* of the primitive communities. Yet, so strangely do some men contrive to put things together, this same circumstance of the gospel's being A LAW OF LIBERTY,* has been made the foundation of a directly opposite conclusion, and certain warm admirers of antiquity in these "Tracts for the Times" would fain persuade us that the main difference between the two dispensations consists in the greater *difficulty* of discovering the precise requirements of the Christian ritual—the vagueness of its promulgation being compensated by the zeal of its subjects to discover and comply with its prescriptions.—(See vol. 1. Nos. 8, 45.) While the acknowledgment that "the Epistles were not written to prescribe and enforce the ritual of religion" is, with equal perverseness, made a reason for looking for it in the gaudy pageants of the church of the fourth century—(Mr. Keble's preface to Hooker—the tract on the ancient liturgies, and No. 34, vol. 1, *on the Rites and Customs of the Church.*) The last mentioned

* "Christ's Gospel is not a *Ceremonial Law*, (as much of Moses' law was,) but it is a religion to serve God, not in bondage of the figure or shadow, but *in freedom of the spirit.*" Preface to Common Prayer.

of these references is, indeed, most curious in many respects; curious for its garbled and interpolated authorities*—curious for its precarious and inconsequential reasoning.

* We are sorry, we say it unaffectedly, to be obliged to notice two instances of what we can scarcely help calling rather *discreditable management* in the writer of Tract 34, vol. 1. of which the mention of this subject reminds us. In the third section of Tertullian's book De Corona Militis occur these words—"Hanc [observationem] si nulla Scriptura determinavit, certe consuetudo corroboravit, quæ sine dubio de *traditione* manavit. Quomodo enim usurpari quid potest, si traditum prius non est? Etiam in traditionis obtentu exigenda est, inquis, auctoritas scripta. Ergo quæramus an et *traditio* non Scripta non debeat recipi," &c. &c. To this authority the writer of the tract in question appeals—how reasonably we do not now inquire; though we may remind the reader of Hooker's judgment, that the book was written in a passion, and that, "as men's speeches uttered in heat of distempered affection, have oftentimes much more eagerness than weight, so he that shall mark the proofs alleged, and the answers to things objected, in that book, will now and then espy the like imbecility."—E. P. Book ii. ch. v. 7. But, whether the authority were good or bad, its sense (or nonsense) ought surely to have been given fairly. Now, the writer of this tract does not give the Latin, (though the tract is addressed *ad scholas*) but, instead of it, supplies us with the following more *convenient* translation:

"Though this observance has not been determined by any text of Scripture, yet it is established by custom, which doubtless is derived from APOSTOLIC tradition." And again—"Let us examine, then, how far it is true, that an APOSTOLIC tradition itself, unless it is written in Scripture, is inadmissible."

The reader sees here, that the word *apostolic* is TWICE interpolated without any sort of warrant from the original, and how grossly unfair this *repeated interpolation* is, will appear from the fact that, in the immediate context, Tertullian himself lays it down, "that every rule binds that is accordant with right reason, BY WHOMSOEVER INTRODUCED;" and *omni fideli* licere concipere et constituere, duntaxat quod Deo congruat, quod disciplinæ conducat, quod saluti proficiat;" and that, of these very traditions here mentioned, he alleges not only the confirmation of custom, but the patronage of *reason*, and that he illustrates his position by the example of a custom, which bound the faithful *before it was sanctioned by the apostolic decision*. The case, in fact, is so plain, that Rigaltius, in his note, admits that Tertullian is *not* speaking of *Apostolic* traditions; and the reader, if he wishes for further satisfaction upon the subject, will find the same point excellently proved by the great Daillè, in his very learned discourse *de Cultibus Lat. Rel.* p. 53. But, indeed, the following passage, (on which our eye has just happened to glance, in examining the next section to that quoted in the tracts,) seems alone sufficient to decide the matter. "Hanc (rationem) nunc expostula, salvo traditionis respectu, *quocunque traditore censetur*." The quotation in the tracts stops short but a few lines above these words.

Again, amongst other articles of his traditionary ware, Tertullian enumerates oblations for the dead, holding it impious to fast, or *pray kneeling* upon a Sunday, or from Easter to Whitsuntide, and taking it to heart if any bread and drink, even at common meals, fell upon the ground. These, it is obvious, were of rather *too advanced* a nature to be quite palatable to his readers *yet*, and the writer, accordingly, with great prudence, *omits* them.

The second authority, to which he appeals very confidently, is Sect. 66 of S. Basil's Treatise on the Holy Spirit. Now, it would have been only fair

"Let us consider," says this writer, "that remarkable passage, (1 Cor. xi. 2. 16,) which, I am persuaded, most readers pass over as if they could get little instruction from it. St. Paul is therein blaming the Corinthians for not adhering to the *custom* of the church, which prescribed that men should wear their hair short, and that women should have their head covered during Divine Service; a custom apparently most unimportant, if any one ever was, but in his view strictly binding on Christians. He begins by implying that it is one of many rules or traditions (παραδόσεις) which he had given to them, and they were bound to keep. He ends by refusing to argue with any one who obstinately cavils at it and rejects it. 'If any man seems to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the churches of God.' Here then at once a view is opened to us which is quite sufficient to remove the surprise we might otherwise feel at the multitude of rites which were in use in the primitive church, but about which the New Testament is silent; and further to *command our obedience to such as come down to us from the first ages, and are agreeable to Scripture.*"

Now, we are confident that no person of common understanding can examine the place in the Corinthians here referred to, with an impartial and unprejudiced mind, without seeing that the apostle is urging this maxim (not on the legitimate *governors* of Christian communities, but) upon *particular members* of them, who refused to comply with the public order of the church, because it was not founded in any natural concinnity. The holy apostle, therefore, wisely considering that this objection (however invalid) might be urged by some weak believers in perfect good faith, takes upon him, in the first place, charitably to remove their scruples by showing them what they required—a sufficient reason in the nature of things for the *fitness* of the practice objected to. Thus far he condescended to satisfy the doubts of honest, though weak, inquirers; but now, lest captious and wrangling schismatics should pretend that, in so doing, he had acknowledged their *general* principle,

to have owned that the whole of this passage is pronounced spurious by so considerable a critic as Erasmus. Bishop Stillingfleet, we remember, takes one of his adversaries very roundly to task for producing it as genuine, and if the reader will look at the works of that great prelate, vol. iv. p. 235, he will find that he has confirmed the opinion of Erasmus with no slight or despicable arguments.

and urged insufficient exceptions to its *special* application in the present case, he hastens to cut the matter short with this peremptory decision:—"If any man seems to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the churches of God." A maxim which holds equally against those wrong-headed votaries of antiquity who disturb the peace of the congregation, occasion scandals, and excite dissension and tumult in the church, by their ill-timed zeal to restore such rites and ceremonies as (however ancient) have long since fallen into desuetude, or been superseded by ecclesiastical authority.

In a word, the apostle certainly implies that the commonly received customs (at one period) of the church are not lightly to be violated by particular members of it, but he says not a syllable from which it can be fairly inferred that the example of the church in one age is obligatory upon the legitimate governors and body corporate of the church in ALL ages and situations. But let us look at another instance (which by the way is a favorite one with Mr. Keble also.)*

"In the original institution of the eucharist, as recorded in the gospels, there is no mention of *consecrating* the elements; but in 1 Cor. x. 16, St. Paul calls it 'the cup of *blessing*, *which we bless*.' This incidental information, vouchsafed to us in Scripture, should lead us to be very cautious how we put aside other usages of the early church concerning this sacrament, which do not *happen* [let the reader mark the word] to be clearly mentioned in Scripture; as *e. g.* the solemn offering of the elements to God by way of pleading his mercy through CHRIST, which seems to have been universal in the church, till popery corrupted it into a superstitious and blasphemous ordinance."

We apprehend that the learned author is here equally wrong in both of his positions. 1. The consecration of the elements (as he calls it) *happens* to be mentioned by *all the three Evangelists* who *happen* to relate the institution of the Eucharist at all. St. Matthew's words are:—"As they were eating, Jesus took bread, and BLESSED IT (ευλογησας) and brake, &c. &c. And he took the cup, and GAVE THANKS (ευχαριστησας,) and gave unto them," &c. &c. Matt. xxvi. 26, 27.

* "Where but in the ancient liturgies.....can we find assurance that in the Holy Eucharist we consecrate as the apostles did?" &c. Keble, p. 38. As if we had to do, not with a merciful God, but some malignant demon, who would take advantage of the least slip in the prescribed formula of incantation, to break in upon the unskilful necromancer, and tear him to pieces.

St. Mark, in like manner,—"And, as they were eating, Jesus, having taken the bread, and BLESSED IT, (εὐλογησας) brake it, and gave unto them, &c.; and, taking the cup, *he gave thanks*," &c. Mark xiv. 22, 23.

Lastly, St. Luke,—"And taking bread, *he gave thanks*, and gave unto them," &c. Luke xxii. 19.*

2. Until either this writer himself, or some other of his party, can make some satisfactory reply to Waterland's masterly refutation of Mede, and the other two, (whose names we should be ashamed to associate with the illustrious Hierophant of the Apocalypse,) we must persist in thinking that the notion of *the unbloody sacrifice* seems to have been as little talked of in the pure ages of primitive antiquity, as in the remains of the sacred writers which *happen* by good luck to have come down to us.

But the palpable inconsistency of the whole system lies in this, that, whereas they hold the church bound to follow exactly the pattern of apostolical discipline and ritual, they yet make no difficulty of confessing that, in a thousand instances, it is impossible with any degree of certainty to discover what that pattern prescribes, and *that*, from the imperfection of the medium through which it was transmitted to us—the magnified conveyance of *oral tradition*.

Now surely the great legislator of the church must have foreseen the accidents which have occasioned this fatal loss, and was certainly as well able, if he had judged it necessary, to preserve, by his good providence, the code of Christian discipline perfect and unimpaired, as the canon of Christian faith. That he did not, therefore, take steps for the accomplishing such an end, is an argument against the necessity of any such code;

* It is evident, from a comparison of these places, that εὐλογέω (in this connexion) is merely synonymous with εὐχαριστέω; and that St. Paul's ποτήριον εὐλογιάς alludes to the כוס הברכה of the Jews:—See Reland's Ant. Heb. p. 427. See Grotius's excellent note on Matt. xxvi. and Casaubon. c. Baron. Exercitat, xvi. No. xxxiii. tit. εὐλογία. Before we dismiss this subject finally, we wish to observe (in reference to another remark of this same writer's) that λειτουργος (and its derivatives) denotes the office of a public minister of religion in general, without any special reference to his *sacrificial* functions. λειτουργος is applied in the New Testament to the apostles, *as preachers*, Rom. xv. 16; to civil magistrates, Rom. xiii. 6; to those who ministered to Paul's necessities, Phil. ii. 25; to angels, Heb. i. 7, 14. In the place immediately referred to, Acts xiii. 2, the Syriac renders it, "Whilst they were *praying* to God and fasting." See *Schleusner* in voc.

The Bourdeaux Testament took a similar view of the matter with our friend at Oxford, rendering it—"or comme ils effroient au seigneur *le sacrifice de la masse*," &c.

since the necessity (if there be a necessity) must needs hold equally of every part alike, and the obligation extends indiscriminately to all. Besides, if apostolic practice be a perfect rule in rituals, it is as wrong to *add to* as to *diminish from* our example: but now, in taking church ceremonies as they have come down to us, we may be quite certain that we take them thickly encrusted with the deposits of corrupter ages, while yet it is quite uncertain where the line of division is to be drawn. Here then *the law of liberty* is made to bring us under the yoke of a worse than Egyptian bondage; for not only are we required to search for straw to make our bricks, but the straw itself is placed studiously beyond our reach. In the case of the sacraments, (which all acknowledge to be of permanent obligation,) our merciful Master has dealt with us very differently. Their institution is distinctly recorded; the consequent practice of them carefully noted; and their use and nature diligently explained in the great charter of salvation, the standing rule of the church's privileges and duties. They are not intrusted to the faithless guardianship of tradition, or left to be irremediably mutilated or disfigured by the arts of knavish priests, and the dotages of a superstitious laity;—the same lively oracles which preserved Christ's doctrine pure,

> "When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones,"

bore witness also against the tyrannous *captivity* in which his sacraments were held, when the blessed tokens of the Holy Spirit of God were made part of the juggleries and witchcraft of the Roman sorceress. To this really important part of our subject we gladly hasten back, and are only sorry that we have been diverted from it so long, that what still remains of space to us will admit of nothing more than a hasty and superficial glance at many topics of no slight weight and dignity.

It has long appeared to us, that there has prevailed among persons professing what are callad *evangelical sentiments*, a certain unfounded, and (may we add,) *morbid* apprehension of some inconsistency between high thoughts of the proper efficacy of the sacraments—(baptism especially) and those doctrines of free grace and justification by faith alone, which they deservedly consider as the warrant of "all their salvation and all their hope." This apprehension, an apprehension which Luther, and Jewel, and Cranmer, and Ridley, never seem to have experienced,

is turned to no small advantage by their opponents; and partly by the loud assertion of the latter, and partly by the timorous concessions of the former, the public is made to believe, that they must either degrade the sacraments to the rank of mere significant emblems, with only a natural operation through their meaning, or else deny that faith is any whit more instrumental in the matter of our justification, than any other of those virtues by which our baptismal purity is preserved, and which are wrought within us, by the continual supplies of grace, derived from the other great channel of supernatural assistance. But our old divines, as we said just now, were strangers to such a notion. "The Papists," says Hooker, "pretend that to *sacraments* we ascribe no efficacy, but make them bare signs of instruction or admonition; *which is utterly false*, for sacraments with us are signs effectual: they are the instruments of God, whereby to bestow grace: *howbeit, grace not proceeding from the visible sign, but from his invisible power.* 'God, by sacraments, giveth grace:' (saith Bernard:) 'even as honours and dignities are given, an abbot made by receiving a staff, a doctor by a book, a bishop by a ring;' because he that giveth these preeminences, declareth by such signs his meaning, nor doth the receiver take the same but with effect; for which cause he is said to have the one by the other; albeit, that which is bestowed proceed wholly from the will of the giver, and not from the *efficacy* of the sign."—(Appendix to Book v. no. 1. Keble's edit.)

Supported by so high an authority, for the consistency of free grace and sacramental efficacy, we shall not hesitate to advance a little further into this matter, more especially as the laying down sound and general principles upon the subject will be necessary for giving a full answer to some dreadful perversions of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, which have been advocated by Doctor Pusey.

The Christian church is that great society, which our Saviour has instituted for bringing all nations to the obedience of faith. This is his *visible* kingdom upon earth; and, as he requires that all who believe in him in their hearts, shall also confess him with their mouths, so he has been pleased to make this society the depository of his ordinary graces, promising, in a solemn manner, to bless the word preached, to answer the prayers offered up, and to ratify the necessary acts of discipline exercised in the *lawful assemblies* of its members. The *full idea* of a

Christian, then, is not completed, until we contemplate him not only as united internally with Christ, but externally also with the whole body of the faithful.* For the better securing this, our Lord instituted the two sacraments: which, lest they should be neglected by the spiritual, on the one hand, as mere outward rites, he made efficacious of heavenly graces; and, lest they should be perverted by the carnal on the other, he contrived as *symbolic representations* also, which signify the functions of *genuine faith*, by their obvious and expressive meaning. Thus, as in the SUPPER OF THE LORD, he has promised that his body and blood, in all their sacrificial virtue and life-giving efficacy,† shall be present to the mind of the worthy receiver of it, so he has provided that the very rite itself should be a *significant action*, betokening, in a manner not to be misunderstood, that mental act of faith in which the value of it consists, and which he strengthens us to exert, if we avail ourselves, in humility, of his appointed means.

As in BAPTISM, likewise, our pardon is sealed to us, a right to all the privileges and graces which attend church-fellowship consigned, and a pledge imparted of that covenant by which the assistance of the Holy Ghost is engaged to guide us all our life long with his counsel, and afterwards receive us with glory, so the very outward ceremony conveys to us, by a simple and affecting figure, the lesson that our souls are by nature defiled with sin, until purified by the sanctification of the Spirit, and that we must *by faith* go down and be buried with our Saviour, in his grave, before we can thus rise again with him from the dead, to the newness of a spiritual life.

This notion of Baptism, as the seal of the New Testament, in which God visibly makes over to us, rightly receiving it, a title to the gift of the Spirit, by whose effectual working our fallen nature

* Mark, for instance, how St. Paul puts *belief* and *confession* together. Rom. x. 9, 10.

† Dr. Pusey treats it as no slight error to affirm that "the sacramental participation of Christ is the same as that out of the sacrament." Now, to us it appears that our Lord has done this very thing, when in John vi. he makes *coming* unto him and *believing* on him synonymous with *eating his flesh.* So our church, in the Rubric, at the end of the communion of the sick—"The curate shall instruct him, that if he truly repent him of his sins, and steadfastly believe that Jesus Christ had suffered upon the cross for him, and shed his blood for his redemption, earnestly remembering the benefits he hath thereby, and giving him hearty thanks therefor, *he doth eat and drink the body and blood of Christ* profitably to his soul's health, *although he do not receive the sacrament with his mouth.*"

is regenerated ;—and the annexing an outward means to this particular grace seems no more to derogate from God's free mercy, than the annexing grace *in general* ordinarily to the use of means *in general.* This notion—we say—will help us clearly to perceive that the grace of baptism is (not one instantaneous effect, but) co-extensive with that state into which it introduces us, and the provisions of that covenant whereof it is the appointed obsignation. This whole grace is called REGENERATION,* which not only implies that a man has faith and repentance wrought in him, and is consequently justified for Christ's merits, but, being thus qualified, has been incorporated into the Church, and is brought under the habitual direction of the Holy Ghost *the sanctifier.* Of this grace, some is *actually* given before we can be baptized, and is only *sealed* in that sacrament ; (as the production of faith and repentance, and our ensuing change of state in God's eyes, which he declares to us in this ceremony)—some, God works in us *when* we are baptized, and conveys in the rite, (as the confirmation of our faith, the comfortable assurance of pardon, and the imparting of federal privileges, as before explained ;)—some, continues to be given to us to the latest hour of our existence here—and some is no other than the glorious fruits of a happy eternity in heaven. In one word, regeneration (in its *complete* though not *only* sense) may be taken to regard the Christian in his *social* as well as his *individual* capacity, and the Church militant in the world is as truly THE NEW HEAVEN AND NEW EARTH of the Church triumphant, as the Christian's life here is the same as his eternal life

* In the beautiful words of Bishop Horne—" The gradual and complete work of our sanctification is carried on, through our lives, by the Spirit of God, given in due degree and proportion to every individual for that purpose. And it is marvellous to behold, as the excellent Bishop Andrews observes, how, from the laver of regeneration to the administration of the *viaticum,* this good Spirit helpeth us, and poureth his benefits upon us, having a grace for every season. When we are troubled with erroneous opinions, he is the Spirit of truth ; when assailed with temptations, he is the Spirit of holiness ; when dissipated with worldly vanity, he is the Spirit of compunction ; when broken with worldly sorrow, he is the Holy Ghost, the comforter. It is he who, after having regenerated us in baptism, confirms us by the imposition of hands ; renews us to repentance when we fall away ; teaches us all our life long what we know not ; puts us in mind of what we forget ; stirs us up when we are dull ; helps us in our prayers; relieves us in our infirmities; consoles us in our heaviness; gives us songs of joy in the darkest night of sorrow; seals us to the day of our redemption ; and raises us up again in the last day ; when that which was sown in grace shall be reaped in glory, and the work of sanctification, in spirit, soul, and body, shall be completed."

hereafter—the same in *kind*, though infinitely differing in *degree*. At any rate, conceding thus much of the substance, we are not disposed to quarrel with Dr. Pusey about the mere *name* of *baptismal regeneration*, however odious he and his party have rendered it by the fearful errors which they have attached to it.

Let us briefly apply these principles to the difficult case of infant baptism. That infants are incapable of salvation, is a proposition so shocking to every mind that understands the terms of it, as to have found scarcely any abettors in the world. That they can be saved otherwise than through the merits of Christ, will be maintained by no one who does not deny the doctrine of *original sin*, and with those who do, we have, at present, no concern.

From these premises it seems to follow that an explicit faith in the Redeemer cannot be a condition to infants, who are physically incapable of such an act. But now, since the sacrament of baptism was designed as the seal of pardon (which infants stand in need of, and may obtain)—as the pledge of spiritual assistance, (which may operate on their minds, we know not how soon, and which they doubtless lack from the first dawn of reason, to the last hour of their existence)—and as the title to federal privileges, (which the analogy of the Old Testament shows us may belong to children who are to be brought up in the doctrine and communion of the church)—finally, since infants being thus plainly *capable* subjects of the sacrament, our Saviour has expressly declared, that "except a man be born again OF WATER and OF THE SPIRIT he cannot see the kingdom of God," we cannot but assent to the grave judgment of our church that, "the baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained, as most agreeable to the institution of Christ." But is not this to deny that justification is by faith only? By no means. Faith becomes the condition—the only condition—of the covenant upon our part as soon as we are capable of performing it, and that pardon which is sealed unconditionally to the infant, is sealed prospectively to the man under the character of a true *believer*. If he fail, and as long as he fails, the full benefits of the gracious promise to him in that sacrament are suspended, but he that has bidden us "to be merciful as our Father which is in heaven is merciful," will still work for his name's sake to renew the backslider once more, and, if he turn again and repent, will assuredly *forgive* his sins. But until

actual rebellion appears, *we* are, at least, bound to *presume* the contrary. This the strictest maintainers of particular redemption will acknowledge. "We speak of infants," says the judicious Hooker—"as the rule of piety alloweth both to speak and think. They that can take to themselves in ordinary talk, a charitable kind of liberty to name men of their own sort, God's dear. children, (notwithstanding the large reign of hypocrisy,) should not methinks, be so strict and rigorous against the church, for presuming as it doth of a Christian innocent. For when we know how Christ in general hath said, of such is the kingdom of heaven, which kingdom is the inheritance of God's elect; and do withal behold how his providence hath called them unto the first beginnings of eternal life, and presented them at the well-spring of new-birth, wherein original sin is purged, besides which sin there is no hindrance of their salvation known to us, as themselves will grant; hard it were that having so many fair inducements whereupon to ground, we should not be thought to utter, at the least, a truth as probable and allowable in terming any such particular infant an elect babe, as in presuming the like of others whose safety, nevertheless, we are not absolutely able to warrant." The sacramental efficacy of baptism, then, may be safely held in connexion with the perfect freeness of the Gospel plan of justification, but when disjoined from that great truth it is changed from wholesome medicine to the deadliest poison. Let us listen to one of Dr. Pusey's expositions of his doctrine of *Baptismal Regeneration :*

"Although the privileges annexed to regeneration are elsewhere spoken of, and the character of mind thereto conformable—our sonship, and the mind which we should have as sons, our new creation—yet these are spoken of as already belonging to, or to be cultivated in us, not as to be begun anew in any one received into the covenant of Christ. There are tests afforded, whether we are acting up to our privilege of regeneration, and cherishing the spirit therein given to us, but *there is no hint* that regeneration can be obtained in any way but by baptism, *or, if totally lost, could be restored.* We are warned that, having been saved by baptism through the resurrection of Jesus Christ, we should no longer live the rest of our time in the flesh to the lusts of men, but to the will of God, (1 Pet. iii. 21—iv. 2); that 'having been saved by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost, we should be careful to maintain good works'—(Tit. ii. 1, 8.) And again, those who had fallen in any way are exhorted to repentance; but men are not taught to seek for regeneration, to pray that they may be regenerate; it is no where implied that any Christian had not been regenerated, or could hereafter be so. The very error of the Novatians, that none who fell away after baptism could be renewed to repentance, will approach nearer to the truth of the Gospel, than the supposition that persons could be admitted as dead members into Christ, and then afterwards for the first time quickened.

Our life is throughout represented as commencing when we are, by baptism made members of Christ and children of God: that life may, through our negligence, afterwards decay, or be choked or smothered, or well nigh extinguished, and by God's mercy again be renewed and refreshed; but a *commencement* of spiritual life after baptism—a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness, at any other period than that one of first introduction into God's covenant, is as little consonant with the general representation of Holy Scripture, as a commencement of physical life after our natural birth is with the order of his providence."—pp. 14.

"The effect of our preaching, as it does not depend upon ourselves, so neither may it be our test of its soundness; and that, simply, because we can at the best know but a very small portion of its real effects or defects. Our concern is, whether it be according to God's word. And it behoves us much to ascertain, by patient, teachable study of that word with prayer, whether it be right to make the way of repentance so easy to those who, after baptism, have turned away from God; whether we have any right at once to appropriate to them the gracious words with which our Saviour invited those who had never known him, and so had never forsaken him, and with which, through the church, he still invites his true disciples to the participation of his most blessed body and blood:—'*come unto me*, ye that labour and are heavy laden;' and whether, having no fresh 'baptism for the remission of sins' to offer, *no means of* '*renewing them to repentance*', we have any right to apply to them the words which the apostles used in inviting men for the first time into the ark of Christ; whether we are not thereby making broad the narrow way of life, and preaching 'peace, peace,' when, this way at least, 'there is no peace.'"—pp. 207, 208.

Our readers, we imagine, will be somewhat startled with this doctrine. It will be new to them to hear that it is only in baptism that our sins can be forgiven, and the Holy Ghost imparted to us; and still more strange, perhaps, to learn that the visible church is crowded with men once regenerate, but fallen from their first love, who have no means left them to which a promise of forgiveness is attached, and who would be wholly without all glimpse of hope, if Dr. Pusey and the fathers had not kindly discovered a path through penitence and maceration, by which, if they do not obtain eternal life, they may at least earn "A FREEDOM FROM PUNISHMENT." (St. Ambrose de lapsu Virginis, quoted p. 63.) But no, we cannot speak lightly of so dreadful an error—an error of which we have not words strong enough to express our detestation. We have not, we say, language forcible enough to express our intense horror at a minister of the gracious gospel of him *who came to seek and to save the lost*, putting coolly forward the assertion, that among the thousands of debauched and blaspheming, although once baptized, and therefore once *regenerate* Christians, by whom he is surrounded, there is NOT ONE to whom he can address that blessed message, "*Believe* in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be *saved*." The promise even under the old law was, "When the *wicked*

man turneth away from the wickedness which he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive;" and the Gospel, speaking as *to children*, in a dearer and a tenderer voice, assures us, that "Him that *cometh* unto Christ, he will in no wise cast out."

Dr. Pusey, then, must either say that there is no appointed means of *coming* to Chirst for one who, throwing away the filthy garment of his flesh, seeks, in singleness of heart, to be clothed with God's everlasting righteousness; or, that the Spirit never works true faith and repentance in those, who, once washed in the laver of regeneration, have been unmindful of their heavenly calling, and grown up in the way of sin, instead of the nurture and admonition of the Lord. The first proposition would be too horrible, we think, even for the *merciless doctors* of the Oxford school; and the second (blessed be God!) receives its best confutation from the *experience* of many a happy believer who can testify that God has made his darkness to be light, and can show forth also the change to his brethren by a consistent and unblameable conversation in the world.

True it is, that the *instrument* of baptism is connected with the energy of the Holy Ghost in Scripture, in a way that no other mean is;—i. e. as a thing done upon *God's own part* for us. But, we know also, that the Spirit, "which bloweth where it listeth,'" is not tied to any means whatsoever, and that it was only its prescription that made water necessary, in the cases wherein it was prescribed.*

* Dr. Pusey, aware of the objection that might be drawn from the church's application of such texts as Matt. xi. 28, in the communion service, endeavours to prove that they are only intended for those whom (what he calls) the *ancient* discipline of the church *would have* allowed to be present. The evasion is monstrous, and, if it needed a refutation, is completely refuted by the latter part of the exhortation prescribed in announcing the celebration of the sacrament, where those who are described as blasphemers, slanderers, adulterers, are, on their repentance, invited to come *the very next Sunday.* In the visitation of the sick, also, the minister is required to give absolution upon confession made. We cannot resist quoting the following, from a peculiar office of the Irish Church, for malefactors under sentence of death:—

"Despair not of God's mercy, though trouble is on every side; for God shutteth not up his mercies for ever in displeasure; but if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, &c. Do not either way abuse the goodness of God, who calleth us mercifully to amendment, and of his infinite pity promiseth us forgiveness of that which is past, if with a perfect and true heart we return to him.'

Again—"Now you are the objects of God's mercy, if by re entance and true faith you turn to him.....*Now you may claim the merits of Christ,*" &c.—Offices for the Visitation of Prisoners.

However, let us look at what Dr. Pusey has elsewhere done to explain or modify this *horribile decretum:*

"On one point, I fear that the doctrines of the ancient church are so distinct from modern ultra-Protestant theology on the one hand, (as also) from the Romanist on the other, that the view which I have exhibited of the character of grievous sin after baptism may cause perplexity. It cannot be otherwise; and I pray only that it may be healthful. For our modern system, founded, as it is, on the virtual rejection of baptism as a sacrament, confounds the distinction of grievous sin before and after baptism, and applies to repentance, after falling from baptismal grace, all the promises which, *in Scripture, are pledged, not as the fruit of repentance simply, but as God's free gift in baptism.* Yet our reformers thought differently; for, had their theology been like our's, there had been no occasion for an article on 'sin after baptism,' (article 16,) or for *denying* that every such sin is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. It had been matter of course. The possibility or efficacy of such repentance *I have not denied;* God forbid: but that such repentance is likely, especially after a relapse, or that men who have fallen can be as assured of the *adequacy* of their repentance as they might have been of God's free grace in baptism, daily experience, as well as the probable meaning of Scripture, forbid us to hope..... Again, the pardon in baptism is free, full, instantaneous, universal, without any service on our part; THE PARDON on repentance, for those who have forfeited their baptismal pardon, IS SLOW, PARTIAL, GRADUAL, as is the repentance itself, to be humbly waited for, and to be wrought out through that penitence..... Again, the penitent must regard himself not merely as a novice, but as a very weak one. He has already cast away the armour wherewith he was clad; he is beginning an irksome, distasteful course; and having already failed, it becomes him not to be impatient of suspense, or too confident in his new steadfastness, but to be content to wear 'doubt's galling chain,' until God shall see it healthful for him gradually to be relieved. The fears and anxieties whereof he ignorantly complains, and would rid himself by the one or the other system of theology, is a most important, perhaps an essential condition of his cure, otherwise God would not have sent troubles often so intolerably:—

But where is then the stay of contrite hearts?
Of old they leaned on thy eternal word;
But with the sinner's fear *their hope departs,*
Fast linked, as thy great name to thee, O Lord.

Man desires to have, under any circumstances, certainty of salvation through Christ. To those who have fallen, God holds out only 'a light in a dark place, sufficient for them to see their path, but not bright or cheering, as they would have it: and so, in different ways, man would forestall the sentence of his judge; the Romanist by the *sacrament* of penance, *a modern class of divines by the appropriation of the merits and righteousness of our Blessed Redeemer;* the Methodists by sensible experience: our own, with the ancient Church, preserves a reverent silence, not cutting off hope and yet not nurturing an untimely confidence, or a presumptuous security. A further question will, probably, occur to many; what is that grievous sin after baptism, which involves the falling from grace? what the distinction between lesser and greater—VENIAL and MORTAL sins? or if MORTAL SINS be "sins against the decalogue," *as St. Augustine says,* are they only the highest degrees of those sins, or are they the lower also? This question, as it is a very distressing one, I would gladly answer if I could, or dared. But, as with regard to the sin against the Holy Ghost, so here also *Scripture is silent.* "What that measure is," *to apply to St. Augustine's words,* "and what are the sins, which prevent men's attaining to the kingdom of God—it is most difficult to dis-

cover, and more dangerous to define. I certainly, much as I have laboured, have not yet been able to decide any thing. Perhaps it is therefore concealed, lest men's anxiety to hold onward to the avoiding of all sin should wax cold.—But now, since the degree of VENIAL iniquity, if persevered in is unknown, the eagerness to make progress by more instant continuance in prayer is quickened, and the carefulness to make holy friends of the mammon of unrighteousness is not despised."—(Preface, pp. 13, 14, 15.)

Dr. Pusey endeavours to confirm this hateful doctrine by the good old plea of *tradition*. The testimony, such as it is, is contradictory and weak enough, but we protest against the use of such an argument altogether. The full, clear, and explicit teaching of the holy apostles, in the form in which they designed that it should continue the perpetual rule of faith to the universal church is in our hands, and may be examined by our own eyes; and are we to suffer conclusions derived from *this* to be overborne by such vague talk as the "*Audivi* a *quodam* presbytero, qui *audierat* ab *his*, qui apostolos *viderant*"—the "I saw a man, that saw a man, that said he saw the king"—of an Irenæus? Now, where in *Scripture* has Dr. Pusey learned this succedaneum?—where has he been taught any secondary way to heaven, besides that *great and living way*, which we tread by faith in the Son of God? If this "doctrine and practice of repentance" be *true* at all, it must certainly be a most important article of our faith. Let him show it to us then (if he can) in the Bible, and not in the uncertain relics of a mutilated and corrupt tradition. But all that he seems able to tell us from the Bible is, that it represents the sins of Christians as so black and heinous, that to repent of them must be "the work of a whole life;" and that "if any man say that he have repented of any *great* sin, thereby meaning that his repentance is ended, or *sufficient*, he has not repented, perhaps not yet begun to repent as he ought;" (p. 81) and indeed if our repentance were to be a *compensation* for any sin, whether *great* or *small*, it should be the work not of a life, but of all eternity; if it were a *price* to purchase God's favour, it could never be *sufficient*. But we need not add that it is neither; the compensation *has been made*; the price *has been paid*—an inestimable compensation, and an infinite price! God now *waiteth to be gracious*, not to inflict vengeance. "If any man *sin*, we have an *advocate* with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the PROPITIATION for our sins." If our repentance be *sufficient* to make us feel that we are helpless in ourselves, but that he is willing and able to help us,—that we are ruined and undone, but that we may

trust in him for life, and health, and all things,—if our repentance, we say, is sufficient to do this, why then we *have repented*, and, as the blessed fruits of that repentance, we *are* "the heirs of heaven," and may *rejoice* in God, through our Lord Jesus Christ. We are happy to add, that some of those who are in general inclined to symbolise with the Oxford school, have taken alarm at these shocking and offensive sentiments; and we cannot close this subject better than in the noble burst of indignation in which one of them protests against the frenzy of his brethren.

"Where is the minister of Christ in London, Birmingham, or Manchester, whom such a doctrine, heartily and inwardly entertained, would not drive to madness? He is sent to preach the Gospel. What Gospel? Of all the thousands whom he addresses, he cannot venture to believe that there are ten who, in Dr. Pusey's sense, retain their baptismal purity. All he can do, therefore, is to tell wretched creatures, who spend eighteen hours out of the twenty-four in close factories and bitter toil, corrupting and being corrupted, that if they spend the remaining six in prayer—he need not add fasting—they may possibly be saved. How can we insult God, and torment man with such mockery?—But who urge us to take that course? The very men to whom we—mere journeymen, appointed to live in the noise and hurry of the world, not in the quiet of colleges, looked for deliverance from the Calvinistic theology by which we were pressed out of measure, so that we despaired even of life. When we were feeling the intense, the intolerable misery of being obliged to treat these poor people as outcasts from God's mercy, of whom one or two *might* find their way to the waters of healing, if an angel first went down and troubled them; when we were tormented with the horrid contradiction of having to say in one breath 'believe,' in the next 'you cannot believe;' now, 'you ought to look upon God as a gracious and loving Lord,' then, 'we have no proofs that you are some of the elect children whom he loves.'.....These kind doctors told us, or seemed to our longing ears to tell us, of a theology which taught that our people were still under the covenant of God's holy baptism; that the love of God was brooding over them; that the grace of Christ was given to them; that the energy of the Spirit was with them, to put them in possession of true righteousness. Now all this comfort is taken from us; and, if we believe our instructors, we have a worse message to deliver than before. But, although we be ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἰδιῶται only picking up snatches of knowledge here and there, and thankful that a race of men has been provided, of larger capacities and greater leisure, who may impart to us what little we are fitted to receive; yet we have also the forms of the church, and the word of God, and a holy communion, and the Holy Spirit; and so long as these are continued to us, we will not, in this solemn matter, give place to these doctors in subjection, no, not for an hour. We will assert that the *covenant* of baptism encompasses the publicans and harlots to whom we preach; let them have as little of baptismal purity as they may, we will preach repentance to them on this ground, and on no other—that they have a Father, and that they may arise and go to him; that they have a Saviour, and that he will deliver them from all their enemies; that they have a Spirit given to them, and that he is willing and able to cleanse them from their sins, and to endow them with the blessing which they need—righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost."—*Letters on the Kingdom of Heaven, &c.*, vol. 1.

POSTSCRIPT.

The Oxonians, from the want of a little careful discrimination, have run themselves into strange confusions about the extent of human ignorance, and the narrowness of human reason. These considerations, which Bishop Butler brings in for the purpose of *obviating difficulties* raised against a system, supported by a great weight of *positive* evidences, are alleged (by men who fancy themselves his disciples) in a way which—if fairly followed out—must lead into the very wildest labyrinths of Pyrrhonic scepticism. That is to say, they are alleged as *in themselves*, a reason for absolutely distrusting any judgment that we can form as to the greater or less probability of things. We are very ready to acquit the Oxonians themselves of any perception of the real tendency of their favourite argument *ab ignorantiâ*, but it is certain that their mode of reasoning is one which, in the hands of a Hume or a Bayle, would prove subversive not only of natural and revealed religion, but of all the principles of moral evidence in the commonest affairs of life. To discredit the probable *conclusions* of human reason, however narrow, on account of dark *possibilities* that lie beyond its field of vision, is the favourite jugglery of the academic sophist, and should be carefully shunned by the Christian divine.

This fault is very observable in all their controversies; but in none more so, perhaps, than in their mode of discussing the question concerning fundamentals. The Oxonians are extremely anxious to show that we can have no certain guide to determine fundamental verities, and distinguish between essentials and non-essentials, except only the tradition of the Catholic Church. For this purpose they have done their best to decry every attempt to classify or arrange the doctrines of revelation, by the assistance of reason, examining the matter, and comparing it with the design of that revelation—and, in short, seem as effectually to make Scripture a mere dead letter, without the informing soul of ecclesiastical interpretation, as a Bellarmine or a Bossuet could desire. The subject is a very trite, but a very important

one. It naturally held a prominent place in the dispute with both Romanists and Socinians. As against the former, it has been most ably discussed by Chillingworth, in his well-known and immortal work, the Religion of Protestants, &c., especially chap. iii. As against the latter, few have examined it with more patience and general accuracy, than Waterland, in his celebrated charge upon this very subject, and in the former part of his "Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity."

We the more gladly refer to Waterland, as his unimpeachable orthodoxy makes him a witness *omni exceptione major*, and vindicates him from all suspicion of *Latitudinarianism*.

There are one or two obvious distinctions with respect to this matter, which we should not think of noticing, if the way in which it has been treated by such able men as Mr. Newman and Mr. Keble did not convince us that the most obvious things may escape the notice of very clear-sighted persons, when hoodwinked by a favorite prejudice.

First, then, let it be observed that the question concerning fundamentals is one which we become involved with, rather in our *social*, than in our *individual* capacities. To each man, individually, *whatever* he discovers to be a matter of Divine Revelation is indispensably requisite to be believed; be the place that it seems to hold in the economy of grace, high or low. But when societies come to settle the terms of *communion* among themselves, then the great question arises:—which doctrines are we to select as *fundamental?* To frame a rule adequate to comprise all possible cases, is obviously impossible. The maintainers of tradition grant this just as readily as we do. All that can be done, in either way, is to determine, *in general*, what doctrines are of such a nature as that, supposing the ordinary degree of knowledge and natural capacity, *the explicit belief* of them can be fairly deemed necessary to salvation. Now, here, it is material to observe, that the weight of proof is, of course, thrown upon the affirmer. This simple remark, plain as it is, destroys almost all the plausibility of the sceptical objections of our opponents. For, from hence it appears, that we are in much greater danger of adding to, than diminishing from, our catalogue of essentials; or, in other words, that we are, by the common ties of charity and forbearance, brought under a plain *negative obligation* to insist upon nothing as *fundamental*, but what we see, by clear and evident reason, to be so plainly

and unambiguously revealed that no man of the ordinary standard can, without culpable negligence or gross dishonesty, miss of finding it in Scripture, and what is indissolubly connected with some duty, or other moral end, which revelation itself represents as a uniform object of its disclosures. This being once understood, it will be apparent, at first sight, that the objections *ab ignorantiâ* to such a mode of proceeding are wholly impertinent and out of place.

It is possible, indeed, though not at all probable, that God may have some end which he has not given us any hint of, and yet equally important with those most evidently revealed, and for the compassing of which other doctrines, connected in no conceivable way (or very remotely at least) with the ends we do see, are absolutely necessary. This, if they will, is a *possibility*, and proper, perhaps, to be urged as a reason why every one should do his utmost to understand, to the fullest extent, *the whole counsel of God.* But such a *possibility*, it is plain, can be no reason for any man or body of men to *act on* towards others, because their general duty is to communicate with their brethren, except so far as *they see good grounds* for doing otherwise. And a bare possibility cannot be such a ground; because, if that were admitted, then (since the highest degree of probable proof always leaves a *possibility* of the contrary) we could never reasonably act on any thing less than either sensible or demonstrative evidence. The old Protestant way of settling fundamentals, therefore, rests upon these simple principles: that, whatever God has made absolutely necessary for the salvation of men in general, he has revealed with sufficient clearness to be understood by men in general; and that we are able to determine, in gross, that some things are so plainly revealed that no man of common understanding (if he be unprejudiced) can fail of seeing them. Again, that we have no right to determine any thing to be essential, but what Christ and his apostles declared to be so, or else what is manifestly necessary for some end distinctly recognised as indispensible in Scripture. This is not to assume (as the writer of one of the tracts supposes, vol. 2, tract 73,) that we are acquainted with the τέλος τελειότατον, or ultimate end of the scheme of redemption; nor was there any need to allege the authority of Bishop Butler*

* Bishop Butler, indeed, is a special favorite with the whole school, and may safely say things which would bring down the sternest castigation on a

(whom the whole school are constantly quoting, and as constantly amiss) to show us the arrogance of such an assumption. It only assumes that we are informed of the end, for which a partial revelation of that incomprehensible scheme was made to us, so far as we are personally concerned therein. Now that *that end* is the restoration of our ruined nature is, over and over again, distinctly asserted in holy Scripture: and that in every possible variety of expression; so that a man can scarcely open a page in the Bible without finding that charity, holiness, and virtue are the *end*, and faith and hope the means by which those perfective graces are wrought within us.

But this writer all along confounds *the end of the revelation as it concerns us*, with the final end and object of the whole scheme, as it concerns the universe; and so has run himself into such inextricable labyrinths of false reasoning, that his argument against systematic theology is little better than a continued σκιομαχια, from one end to the other. For our own parts we confess that we feel little or none of that morbid horror of the system which is at present so fashionable; and cannot but think that both reason and Scripture itself lead us to expect that we shall be able to discover in Revelation some traces of that order and harmony which characterise the works of wisdom.

That the scheme of Providence, natural and supernatural, as it is objected to the divine mind, forms one great consistent whole, the parts of which have a mutual subordination and dependence, is what nobody, I suppose, will question. The narrowness of our faculties obliges *us* (as I just hinted) to consider this scheme, in itself one and indivisible, under two distinct notions—that of *nature*, and that of *grace*. These, having both the same author, and containing both the workings of the

less trusted writer. For instance, Mr. Erskine is gravely rebuked in this tract, p. 19, for asking (very reasonably, we think) "what is the history of another world to *me*, unless it has some intelligible relation to my duties and my happiness?" Yet what is this more than the bishop had said before him—"That which makes the question concerning a future life to be of so great importance to us, is our capacity of happiness and misery. And that which makes the consideration of it to be of so great importance to us, is the supposition of our happiness and misery hereafter, depending upon our actions here. Without this, indeed, curiosity could not but sometimes bring the subject · · · · before our thoughts. But *reasonable men would not* take any further thought about hereafter, than what should happen thus occasionally to rise in their minds," &c.—Anal. Part 1, chap. ii.

At vos *Trojugenæ* vobis ignoscitis!

same attributes, must be supposed to bear a close analogy to each other. Now experience teaches us that, by a diligent examination and comparison of the phenomena, we may, *in some degree*, arrive at a true conception of the SYSTEM OF NATURE. I say, *in some degree;* because (in consequence of our want of any ideas at all of many links in the chain, or of adequate ideas in others, or of faculties, diligence, and power of attention, for working upon such ideas as we have) it is vain to expect that finite creatures shall ever be able to comprehend the *whole* of a plan, in which it is reasonable to suppose that all the energies of the Almighty have scope for the development of their various operations. Accordingly, the doctrine of a PLUS ULTRA is one great distinction between the *new* and the *ancient* philosophy. It would, therefore, appear highly probable that we should be able to obtain a like true, but imperfect, conception of the SYSTEM OF GRACE also, if we have but patience and modesty enough to investigate the phenomena in this case as diligently as in the other, and acquiesce in a frank confession of partial, or of utter ignorance, with respect to the reasons and relations of many of its departments. If the *systematic divines* have failed, it was because, like the *systematic philosophers*, they endeavoured to raise a *perfect* edifice, and to raise it upon a *wrong foundation.*

They erred, in short, (not in their principle—that revelation is a system—but) in their method of ascertaining *what sort of system* it is. For, instead of gathering their notions of it from the phenomena, and taking the parts in those relations only in which Holy Scripture itself represents them, they assumed the *Aristotelic Categories* as their infallible standard, and stretched the phenomena, as it were, upon the rack of the scholastic logic. The subjects with which such a *science* as *speculative theology* (for it was as a *speculative*, not a practical science, that they regarded it) *ought* to be conversant, were drawn out under the proper heads of their technical doctrine of method; and to every question that dialectic skill could raise upon these, the Bible was compelled to return an answer. Thus, the interpretation of Scripture became, in their hands, nothing more than the knack of spinning the greatest possible number of *common-places* (as they were called) out of each single text; which was considered, not in its relation to the context, or the general tenor of Holy Writ, but as it stood connected with the

logical arrangements of these profound commentators themselves. If *we* sought the same end, or employed the same means as these men, we might fairly be reproached with the example of their ill success; but if we have avoided the fatal rock on which they ran themselves, there is no reason why we may not profit by their errors, and derive encouragement from the miscarriage which has been employed to damp our hopes.

But further, the inspired writers themselves assign a greater degree of dignity to some doctrines than to others. Of this we shall give an instance in the very one which our Oxford friends complain of being put too prominently forward by the evangelical divines—THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT. Indeed we have been told in the last volume of the Tracts for the Times, that the doctrine of "Christ crucified" is not the doctrine of the atonement, but the doctrine of mortification, and "the naked exposure of so very sacred a truth," reprobated as "unscriptural, dangerous, and incautious." But they must allow us to say, we have not so learned Christ; and which of us has learned of a better master let the Spirit of truth decide. We desire neither to live nor breathe if we be found opposers of God's Holy Word. But if it witness for us and against them, then let them beware how they hide the candle of the Lord under a bushel, and obscure the glorious Gospel of the grace of God. "Brethren," says St. Paul, "I declare unto you, the Gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye have received, and wherein ye stand; by which also ye are saved, if ye keep in memory what I preached unto you, unless ye have believed in vain. For I delivered unto you, FIRST OF ALL, that which I also received, how that Christ died FOR OUR SINS (ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν) according to the Scriptures." 1 Cor. xv. 3. Where, if not here, is the vicarious sacrifice of Christ explicitly mentioned? Is not this, think you, the doctrine of the atonement? Yet this is the very doctrine which St. Paul delivered to the Corinthians first of all, as the message of salvation. And this will show us the true meaning of other places in the same epistle which have been miserably perverted by these men. "We preach," says the apostle, "CHRIST CRUCIFIED, to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness." Now, here, it is said, that it was nothing but preaching up the necessity of mortification that could appear foolishness to the Greeks. This, I say, is affirmed by men who have read Plato, and know

that he defines philosophy to be "a perpetual meditation on death and disentanglement from the body"*—by men familiar with the precepts of the Stoics, and the eloquent declamations of the Alexandrian school. No, however unwilling the Greeks might be to practise mortification, they could not call it foolishness—but let it pass. "The notion," they say, "now prevailing is alterative to the world, in the naked way in which it is put forth, so as rather to diminish, than to increase a sense of responsibility and consequent humiliation." Commend us to such reasoners—because the doctrine of the atonement may be perverted if set forth alone, therefore it ought not to occupy a prominent place in the statement of the Gospel. Why, the very notion of an important fundamental doctrine contains the idea of its being pregnant with practical consequences, and intimately connected with the whole system of revealed truth. We call doctrines important in relation to an end; and, if they are not so put forward as to bear their proper relation to that end, they are not really put forward as important; they are not really used, but abused. Now the question between us and the Oxonians is (or ought to be) this—Whether the doctrine of Christ's atonement, as such, is of importance to be put prominently and explicitly forward as a means of obtaining the great end for which the Gospel is preached? and not, Whether the bare naked reception of the theory of this doctrine is itself that end? Let it therefore be understood, that it is to the first of these questions, and to the first only, that we answer, yea; and that answer we ground upon both Scripture and reason.

Now the end of the Gospel (as we all agree) may be considered in a two-fold view—i. e. as justification or as sanctification—as the change of the relation in which we stand to God's justice; or as the actual change within us from habits of sin, to habits of holiness. The explicit preaching of the vicarious sacrifice of Christ, is represented in Scripture as of prime importance to both these purposes. And first for justification. "We are," says St. Paul, "justified freely, by God's grace,

* Cicero Tusc. Disp. i. 30. Tota enim philosophorum vita, ut ait Plato, *commentatio mortis est;* where see Dr. Davis's note. So Hermias in Phædrum, *καὶ ἡ φιλοσοφία οὐδὲν ἄλλό ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἢ μελέτη θανάτου.* And Plato himself, *οἱ ὀρθῶς φιλοσοφοῦντες ἀπέχονται τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἐπιθυμιῶν ἁπασῶν, καὶ καρτεροῦσι, καὶ οὐ παραδιδόασιν ἑαυτοὺς ἑαυταῖς.* Phædo. s. 71. See also Hierocles in Aur. Carmin.

through the *redemption* that is in Christ Jesus, whom God hath SET FORTH *to be a propitiation through* FAITH IN HIS BLOOD, to declare his righteousness . . . . . *that he might be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus.*" Rom. iii. 22. Here the proper object upon which saving faith ought to terminate, is described to be the atonement made by *the blood* of the Redeemer: and reason good, since trusting in another, is the surest safeguard against trusting in ourselves. But to proceed. We have already considered St. Paul's doctrine in his first epistle to the Corinthians. Turn now to the second. "God," says the Apostle, describing his office as a preacher of the word, "hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation, *to wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself,* NOT IMPUTING THEIR TRESPASSES UNTO THEM . . . . . *For,* HE HATH MADE HIM TO BE SIN FOR US, WHO KNEW NO SIN, *that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.*" 2 Cor. v. 18. Yes, St. Paul felt no niggardly apprehensions, lest he should squander the comforts of the Gospel, with too unsparing a prodigality. "O ye Corinthians," he exclaims—"our *mouth* is OPEN unto you—*our heart is* ENLARGED. Ye are *not straitened in us,* but ye are straitened in your own bowels." 2 Cor. vi. 11.

Look now at the Epistle to the Galatians, and see how St. Paul describes his preaching to that Church. "O, foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that ye should not obey the truth, before whose eyes Jesus Christ *hath been evidently set forth crucified among you.*" Gal. iii. 1. Do you ask, now, what was this doctrine of Christ crucified? You will find it at v. 13. "Christ hath *redeemed* us from the curse of the law, *being made a curse for us.*" And the same account of the Gospel is given in the Epistle to the Ephesians. "We have," says St. Paul, "*redemption* in the Beloved THROUGH HIS BLOOD, *the forgiveness of sins,* according to the riches of his grace." Eph. i. 7. And again, "Ye are *made nigh* BY THE BLOOD *of Christ,* for He is our peace, who hath broken down the middle wall, ... that he might reconcile both unto God, in one body, by THE CROSS, having slain the enmity thereby, and came and *preached peace* to you that were afar off." ii. 15. And so also in the Epistle to the Colossians, "God hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son, in whom we have REDEMPTION *through his blood,* even the *forgiveness of sins.*—For it

pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell, and *(having made peace by the blood of his cross)* by him to reconcile all things unto himself, ... and you also, if ye continue *in this faith,* (ἐν τῇ πιστει,) and be not moved away from *the hope of the Gospel,* which ye have heard, and which was preached unto every creature under heaven, whereof I Paul was made a minister." Col. i. 13.

Here then where he professedly gives an account of that faith, by perseverance in which we obtain everlasting life—that hope of the Gospel which is to be our comfort in this state of trial—that saving doctrine which he was ordained to propagate—you see what a prominent and important place is assigned in it to the vicarious sacrifice of the Lord Jesus. And so in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, where he describes the message which he was commissioned to deliver—" For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus; *who gave himself a ransom for all,* to be *testified* in due time; *whereunto I am ordained a preacher and an apostle.*" Tim. ii. 5. So in the second Epistle also—" God hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling, not *according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace,* which was given us in Christ Jesus, before the world began; but is now made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, who hath *abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light, through the Gospel: whereunto I am appointed a preacher and an apostle.*" 2 Tim. i. 10. Nor is it otherwise in that brief sum of Christian divinity which he gives to Titus. Tit. ii. 11; and again, iii. 4. Our Saviour, indeed, in his personal ministry, did not so explicitly propound his sacrifice as the part of his office in which faith was especially to be exercised; because, until the *sacrifice was made,* the divine wisdom did not see fit to make an undisguised and open revelation of it: but he did not fail to intimate the importance which this doctrine should thenceforth have attached to it, when his kingdom should be authoritatively set up. For, as he says himself, there was *nothing kept secret* during the period of his own ministry, BUT THAT IT SHOULD COME ABROAD in that of his apostles, who were enjoined to publish upon the house-tops those mysteries which were whispered in their ears. Matt. x. 27. For as Christ himself, during his sojourn upon earth, went about disguised in the form of a servant, in weakness and great humility,

but was declared to be Son of God upon his resurrection, with all the pomp and evidence of sovereignty, so the Gospel also had its time of obscurity in the humiliation of its author, that it might partake in the illustrious manifestation of his glory. Now, what we say is, that our Lord sufficiently intimated that, when his Gospel was to be publicly preached, this doctrine of the atonement was to be the most important part of it. Of this, we think, the sixth chapter of St. John alone affords abundant proof, in which he describes that act of faith by which the believer becomes partaker of eternal life, and without which he has no share in that blessing, (ver. 53, 54, 55,) under the figure of *drinking his blood, and eating his flesh*—that flesh which he was to GIVE FOR THE LIFE OF THE WORLD. (51.) Elsewhere in the same Gospel also, he couples saving faith with his vicarious sacrifice, as, chap. iii. 14—"As Moses *lifted up the serpent in the wilderness*, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life." And again, xii. 32. "I, if *I be lifted up from the earth*, will draw all men unto me." But what completes this branch of the evidence is, that not only was the atonement chosen out as the immediate subject of the great standing prophecy of the Gospel under the old dispensation—*sacrifice;* but also this same doctrine is that which was selected to form the mystical meaning of the two great symbolic rites of the New Testament itself—Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Let us pass now to the second branch of our evidence—the necessity of the doctrine of the atonement as a mean to sanctification. "In Christ Jesus," says St. Paul, "neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision; but *faith, which worketh by love.*" Gal. v. 6. Now, how is it that faith kindles up this active affection in the mind? St. John will tell us that is by being exercised upon this very atoning work of the Redeemer. "We love him, because he first loved us." And how was this love shown? "In this was manifested the love of God toward us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, *and sent his Son to be the* PROPITIATION FOR OUR SINS." 1 John iv. 9, 10, 19. "Greater love," our Saviour himself tells us, "hath no man than this, *that a man lay down his life for his friends.*" John

xv. 13. "For scarcely for a righteous man will one die, yet peradventure for a good man some would dare even to *die*." "God," says St. Paul, "commendeth his love towards us, in that while we were *yet sinners, Christ died for us*." Rom. v. 7. Now, look at chap. viii. 31, and mark how the sacrifice is made the ground of all the faith, and hope, and love together. "He that spared *not his own Son*, but freely gave HIM FOR US ALL; how shall he not with him also freely give us all things? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that *justifieth*. Who is he that *condemneth?* It is Christ THAT DIED," &c.

The great thing, indeed, in the work of sanctification, is to have the principle of love brought to bear upon our minds. "I will *run*," says David, "in the way of thy commandments, when thou hast *set my heart at liberty*," Ps. cxix. 32; and the Gospel, as being the law of love towards God and towards man, is emphatically THE ROYAL LAW OF LIBERTY. Yes, love is that great moral influence, still tending towards the centre of attraction, which keeps the hierarchies of angels steadfast in their appointed orbits; and whose efficacy, growing stronger and stronger, as we approach nearer to the Sun of Righteousness, is gradually correcting the aberrations of our unbalanced souls, and will, at last, fix them in unswerving regularity among the glittering ranks of heaven. "Perfect love casteth out fear, because fear hath torment." As we advance in love, our dread of falling will grow less, as the danger diminishes; until, at last, the great change shall be thoroughly wrought in our dispositions; the habit of holiness become a second nature; and fear and danger be *wholly cast* out together. Then shall LOVE, like the fabled chain of Jupiter, be a golden bond of perfectness, linking the new heavens and the new earth to the throne of God himself, and uniting all creatures to each other, and to their Lord, in the indissoluble ties of an eternal charity.

NOTE.

Mr. Keble, in his late edition of Hooker, is naturally desirous to rescue his author from the suspicion of entertaining those low-church sentiments concerning ecclesiastical government, which have been generally defended by his authority. In this, we think, he has been, on the whole, unsuccessful. But before we examine the evidence produced, we beg leave to protest against what we shall say upon this subject being construed as a discussion of the merits of the theological question itself, or as any thing more than a mere literary investigation of a matter of mere literary curiosity. Whatever our own opinions may be, we disclaim altogether that morbid solicitude for the countenance of great names, which too many of the partizans on both sides have exhibited. It seems pretty generally admitted that the line of argument adopted in the second and third books, appears, at any rate at first sight, to favour the opinions of those who maintain the inherent mutability of all forms of church government. But this, it is contended, arises from a confusion in the reader's mind between *accidentals* and *essentials*—that Hooker's reasoning really refers to indifferent ceremonies, and the *circumstances* of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and that the phrase "a particular form of church polity," must be taken to refer to such a form as the Puritans sought to establish, a form exactly delineated, and circumscribed in all its minutest parts. This, we apprehend, can appear satisfactory to nobody who has considered the context of the passages alluded to. The Puritan scheme, let it be remembered, not only required scriptural warrant for every ceremony and constitution, but set up a form of church government directly opposed to the episcopal form, viz.:—Presbyterianism with lay elders; and this was by far the most weighty and important part of the discipline. In meeting it, therefore, with the general plea of the natural mutability of matters of discipline, as Hooker does, (for throughout he distinguishes only between matters of faith and of discipline, making the first perpetual—the second in their nature changeable)—so great a master of reason must certainly have meant his plea to extend to those parts of ecclesiastical polity about which the question was principally concerned. We apply the term, form of government, in the same sense to presbytery and to episcopacy. So that to meet a claim to a *jus divinum* for one, by a plea for the mutability of forms of government, is in fact to give up the divine right of either; and accordingly, in the following passage he expressly attributes mutability even to those "matters of principal weight," in which he thinks it appears from Scripture that our Church has followed the practice of the apostles.

"Whereas," says he, "in this discourse we have oftentimes profest that many parts of discipline or church polity are delivered in Scripture, they may perhaps imagine that we are driven to confess their discipline to be delivered in Scripture, and that, having no other means to avoid it, we are fain to argue for the changeableness of laws ordained even by God himself, as if otherwise, theirs of necessity should take place, and that under which we live be abandoned. There is no remedy, therefore, but to abate this error in them, and directly to let them know, that if they fall into any such conceit, they do but a little flatter their own cause. As for us, we think in no respect so highly of it. Our persuasion is, that no age ever had knowledge of it but only ours; that they which defend it devised it; that neither Christ nor his apostles at any time taught it, but the contrary. If, therefore, we did seek to

maintain that which most advantageth our own cause, the very best way for us, and the strongest against them, were to hold even as they do. There must needs be found some particular form of church polity which God hath instituted, and which, for that very cause, belongeth to all churches—to all times. *But with any such partial eye to respect ourselves, and by cunning, to make those things seem the truest which are the fittest to serve our purpose, is a thing which we have neither like nor mean to follow. Therefore, that which we take to be generally true concerning the mutability of laws, the same we have plainly delivered,*" &c.—Book iii. c. x. sect. 8.*

Elsewhere he has said that it is "those things which are of *principal weight* in the very particular form of church polity, although not that form which they imagined, but that which we against them uphold" which are contained in Scripture; so that he plainly intends his reasoning, whatever be its value, to apply to *these*. Let it be remembered, too, that in the commencement of the dispute he had chosen the term church polity, as preferable to government, because the latter did not "comprise the *largeness of that whereunto in this question* it is applied," whereas "church polity containeth both government, and also whatsoever besides belongeth to the ordering of the church in public," and that his argument upon this subject is expressly in support of a thesis of Archbishop Whitgift's, who is acknowledged upon all hands not to have been a high-churchman.

But Mr. Keble has another way in store of evading the apparent force of such passages as we have just cited. "What," says he, "do these concessions really amount to? Surely to this, and no more: that he waives, in behalf of the episcopal succession, the mode of reasoning from antecedent necessity, on which the Puritans relied so confidently, in behalf of their pastors, elders, and deacons."—Preface, p. lxxiii. Now, really this seems to us a little extraordinary. What Hooker is discussing is the argument that the form of church government *which can be collected from Scripture*, must be of perpetual obligation, whatever that form is. He answers by showing that perpetual obligation is to be derived, not from a mere command, but from the nature of the thing commanded; and he then goes on to prove that there is no declaration of God's will in Scripture making that, by an extraordinary decree, perpetual, which is in its nature mutable and temporary. It remains, therefore, that those who assert Hooker's high-churchmanship, should show upon what other principle he has taken upon him to defend the divine right of any form of church government, in the sense in which that tenet is held by the party who claim him as an adherent. Now, it is true that, at the conclusion of his second book, he lays it down that where the clergy are numerous, a government by bishops (i. e. in general, a subordination and disparity of ministers,) ought always to be maintained. But this he derives not from the necessity of a legitimate transmission of orders, (upon which ground alone bishops, in the proper sense, can be proved absolutely essential,) but from the necessity for some superior jurisdiction for the maintenance of proper discipline, which jurisdiction, for any thing that appears to the contrary, need not constantly reside in the same individual. On the whole, then, he concludes, with Whitgift, that the Genevan platform, though faulty and imperfect, is not such as to deprive the congregations which adopt it of the character of churches. "For mine own part," says he, "although I see that certain reformed churches, the Scottish especially, and French, have not that which best agreeth with the sacred Scripture, I mean the government that is by bishops, inasmuch as both those churches are fallen

* In the sermon on pride, vol. iii. part ii. p. 771, he speaks of "all canons apostolical, touching the form of church government, though received from God himself, as positive laws, and therefore ALTERABLE."

under a different kind of regiment; which to remedy IT IS FOR THE ONE ALTOGETHER TOO LATE, and too soon for the other, during their present affliction and trouble: this their defect and imperfection I had rather lament in such case than exagitate," &c.—p. 518. Indeed, his agreement all through with Whitgift's principles is most remarkable. That prelate's main grounds for defending episcopacy, as stated by Mr. Keble himself, are as follows:—

"1. The whole church, being naturally the subject in which all ecclesiastical power resides, may have had originally the right of determining how it would be governed.

"2. Inasmuch as the church did determine, from the very earliest times, to be governed by bishops, it cannot be right to swerve from that government, in any country where the same may be maintained, consistently with soundness of doctrine, and the rights of the chief magistrate, being Christian."

Now it is upon these very principles that Hooker also defends the foreign ordinations. "*The whole church visible,*" he observes, "*being the true original subject of all power,* it hath not ordinarily allowed any other than bishops alone to ordain: howbeit, as the ordinary course is ordinarily in all things to be observed, so it may be in some cases not unnecessary that we decline from the ordinary ways."—Book vii. p. 285; and again, p. 284—"They whom *the whole church* hath from the beginning used as *her agents* in conferring this power, are . . . . . superiors both unto deacons and unto presbyters: only such persons ecclesiastical have been authorised to ordain both, and to give them the power of order, *in the name of the whole church.*"*

Finally, it is upon this same principle that he defends St. Jerome's celebrated aphorism. Episcopacy, he argues, was, indeed, instituted by the apostles; but, inasmuch as the church might have altered that positive institution, its permanence may be said, and said truly, to be rather from custom, than any ordinance of the Lord's. Yet Mr. Keble is perpetually arguing upon the *ignoratio elenchi* of showing that Hooker held the divine, immutable right of episcopacy, by showing that he held its apostolic origin. His concluding peroration is, however, less triumphant than might have been expected:

"At the same time it is undeniable, that here, and in many other passages, we may discern a marked distinction between that which now, perhaps, we may venture to call the school of Hooker, and that of Laud, Hammond, and Leslie, in the two next generations. He, as well as they, regarded the order of bishops as being immediately and properly of divine right; he, as well as they, laid down principles, which, strictly followed up, would make this claim exclusive. But he, in common with most of his contemporaries, shrunk from the legitimate result of his own premises, the rather, as the fulness of apostolical authority on this point had never come within his cognizance; whereas the next generation of divines entered on the subject, as was before observed, fresh from the discovery of the genuine remains of St. Ignatius.

* In a note, at the end of his preface, Mr. Keble tells us that "Hooker transferred this principle, without scruple, from civil to ecclesiastical legislation; and, *as long as he could have the benefit of it,* in support of the system which he wished to uphold, was little anxious to dwell even upon the apostolical character, which he has himself elsewhere asserted, in behalf of that system." *Call you this backing your friends?* The defence is unworthy of Hooker. But we would gladly quote, (if we had room,) from the same note, some sensible remarks upon Hooker's Erastian Theory of the identity of church and state. For a more detailed refutation of the Erastian Theory, the reader must consult the first and second books of Warburton's "Alliance," especially the last chapter of the second book, in which the objection, that both consist of the same individuals, is anticipated and exposed.

He did not feel at liberty to press unreservedly, and develop in all its consequences, that part of the argument, which they, taught by the primitive church, regarded as the most vital and decisive: the necessity, namely, of the apostolical commission to the derivation of sacramental grace, and to our mystical communion with Christ. Yet, on the whole, considering his education and circumstances, the testimony which he bears to the bolder and completer view of the divines of the seventeenth century is most satisfactory. Their principles, as we have seen, he lays down very emphatically; and if he does not exactly come up to their conclusion, the difference may be accounted for, without suffering any fundamental variance of judgment. It seems to have been ordered that in this, as in some other instances, his part should be 'serere arbores, quæ alteri sæculo prosint.' His language was to be, φωνᾶντα συνέτοισιν, more than met the ear of the mere ordinary listener, yet clear enough to attract the attention of the considerate; and this, it will be perceived, was just what the age required."

In touching upon Hooker's opinions concerning justification, Mr. Keble adopts that moderate tone of *conciliation* which his party have of late very generally assumed. He endeavours to prove that there is, at bottom, very little difference between his opinions and those of Bishop Bull. But, before entering upon his proof, he tries at any rate to secure himself, by an insinuation which we cannot suffer to pass in silence. "Hooker's compositions upon this subject," he observes, "are mostly of an early date, when, as has been exemplified, he hardly seems to have acquired that independence of thought which appears in the polity." Now really this is quite unwarrantable. The sermon upon justification was written upon a most important occasion, under circumstances which rendered it necessary to bestow the most careful consideration upon every word, was elaborated with the utmost sedulity, and transcribed by the author himself, for the purpose of having it attentively examined by his friends. So far from betraying any symptoms of a *dependent* mind, it was composed in defence of what some of the greatest theologians of the time were startled at as a novel and dangerous paradox; and it is inferior to none of his other writings in originality of conception, vigour of thought, and energy of diction. The *examples* referred to are, we suppose, the two sermons upon St. Jude. But now, in the first place, *Mr. Keble himself has very strong doubts whether these sermons are Hooker's at all;* and, in the second, even granting their authenticity, they are so far from being a case in point, that they make rather the other way. For the faults noted in them are merely faults of *style*—offences against that chastened majesty for which his maturer compositions are remarkable. Now, from such blemishes as these, the discourse of justification is certainly altogether free. But, suppose that the sermon actually was written (as Mr. Keble insinuates) before its author was quite out of leading strings, is there any evidence to show that, in this particular, his more robust judgment corrected the weak conclusions of his youth? Not a particle. On the contrary, in the very latest legacy which he bequeathed to the Church—the Fragment of a reply to "The Christian Letter" [vol. ii. p. 700 et seq. of this edition]—*he has incorporated an abstract of this very sermon, and repeated, almost in the same words, his former profession of belief in the imputation of Christ's righteousness, and the justification of sinners by faith only.*

But, be this as it may, Mr. Keble is of opinion that since "Hooker, on the one hand, makes the two justifications which he insists on inseparable and contemporaneous; and Bull, on the other, disclaims, with all possible earnestness, all notion of condignity, in faith alike, and in works, and in every thing else that is ours; it should seem that, really and practically, there is no such great difference between them." Now, while we cheerfully acknowledge that, as long as a man sincerely disclaims all merit in his own faith, and works, and every thing else of his own, and relies solely upon the merits of Christ, he

has the true Gospel faith, and holds firmly by the foundation—no matter what place he assigns, speculatively, to justification, or how grossly he confounds the *instrumentality* of faith and works;—yet we apprehend that no true philosopher will be inclined to underrate the danger of even an erroneous form (if that were all) of conveying a substantially correct statement, especially where the inspired writers have taken such pains to inculcate the true one. Nobody who knows how much depends upon the light in which we *habitually* regard those doctrines that are the great springs of evangelical obedience, and the sources of Christian consolation, will think it a matter of small moment whether the light in which they are considered be the clear, steady illumination of Scripture, or the false and uncertain gleam of human theories. Bull's hypothesis, by teaching Christians to regard their acceptance with God as incomplete, and suspended upon their performance of certain undefinable conditions of obedience to some imaginary code, tends (in our opinion) directly to substitute a spirit of fear and bondage for that GRATEFUL LOVE which the Gospel makes the grand motive of spiritual life; and, by constantly fixing attention upon a man's own works as the means whereby (in some way or another) his justification is to be obtained, it is fitted to produce—in minds so prone to pride as ours—a *practical* persuasion of merit in those works, however definitely such a claim may be denied in speculation. Looking upon it, therefore, as not only opposed to the plainest statements of Scripture, but fraught with very dangerous consequences, in a matter nearly concerning our eternal salvation, we cannot agree to that *syncretism* in this particular which some persons have been so eager to recommend, who, nevertheless, themselves show no disposition to yield a single point in those questions of *discipline* which *they* consider of paramount importance.

THE END.

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1839.

THE

REVIVAL OF POPERY:

A SERMON

PREACHED BEFORE

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

AT ST. MARY'S,

ON SUNDAY, MAY 20, 1838.

BY

GODFREY FAUSSETT, D.D.

OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE,

THE LADY MARGARET'S PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY.

THIRD EDITION.

OXFORD,

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1838.

TO

THE JUNIOR STUDENTS

OF

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

THIS SERMON

IS INSCRIBED

BY THEIR FAITHFUL FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

SOME strictures on my sermon having appeared in a letter from the Rev. J. H. Newman, a brief reference to them may be required on my part. Brief however it ought to be, inasmuch as the letter is any thing but a regular answer to the sermon, and should seem to have been written without any complete perusal of it, including of course the Notes and Appendix. Hence, I presume, it is, that I am supposed to make assertions without proof (p. 6.),—and am presented with a long list of *exemplary* divines, who observed the Christian practice of *occasional fasting* and *humiliation*, in obedience to the rules of the Church, (p. 93.) as the principal answer (for mere etymology does not prove that St. Paul *bruised* his body, p. 92.) to what I had said of the gloomy views *of sin after baptism*, and of those *rigid mortifications* and *painful penances*, that *abasement of mind and body* and *utter renunciation of the world* which are suggested *to the sinner* as the *means* of *blotting out eternal torment by temporal affliction*. (Sermon, p. 17. and Appendix.)

Some oversight of the same kind, I suppose, has led Mr. Newman to complain of the application (p. 5.) of the terms "combination" and "conspiracy" to Mr. Froude and his friends, though the expressions in my pages (pp. 13. and 52.) are closely connected with their justification. Mr. Froude himself was not so nice;—he candidly avowed himself "an *ecclesiastical agitator*;"—and expressed his fear that his correspondent and others "were going to back out of the *conspiracy*." (Remains, vol. I. pp. 258. and 377.)

Equally hasty, and still more unfortunate, is the attempt at direct contradiction to my statement, that the term *altar*, as synonymous with the *Lord's table*, does

not appear to have been adopted till about the end of the second century. With an air of somewhat unseemly triumph, four passages from Ignatius are brought forward, of which however *not one* goes to the extent of proving that by the term *altar* (*θυσιαστήριον*) is meant the *material table* at which the communicants partook of the Eucharist;—and two *at least*, have no more reference even to a *material altar*, than the ordinary phrase "within the pale of the Church" has to a *material fence*. (p. 40.) However, not merely to assert my own judgment in opposition to Mr. Newman's, I subjoin in a note that of Abp. Usher[a]. The references to Scripture (Matt. v. 23. and Heb. xiii. 10.) are as little to the purpose; the word in the first passage meaning the *Jewish* altar; in the other, *figuratively*, the great atonement. (Vide Schleusner in voc. *θυσιαστήριον*.) (p. 42.) The enumeration of a dozen Fathers from near the end of the *second* to the end of the *fourth* Century, who called the *Lord's Table* the *altar*, proves no more than was already acknowledged. In fact nothing could be

a Πάντες ὡς εἷς, εἰς τὸν ναὸν Θεοῦ συντρέχετε, ὡς ἐπὶ ἓν θυσιαστήριον.] Anglican. *Omnes ut in unum templum concurrite Dei, ut in unum altare.* Ubi observa, *ναὸν καὶ θυσιαστήριον rem unam et eandem* denotare. Unde in Polycarpi ad Philippenses, et Ignatio ad Tarsenses tributâ Epistolâ, *θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ*, a vulgato Latino Interprete *sacrarium Dei* recte est redditum. *Usser. in Ignatii Epist. ad Magnes.* §. 7. *Cotelerii Patres Apostolici, vol. II. p.* 56. *Edit. Amstelæd.* 1724.

Ita supra in Epistolâ ad Ephesios idem: Ἐὰν μή τις ἐντὸς ᾖ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Nisi quis intra altare sit, privatur pane Dei:* hoc est, *intra sacrarium*, de quo vide supra in Epist. ad Magnesianos, vel *intra cœtum fidelium*, de quo Clemens Alexandrinus, lib. 7. Stromatum: Ἐστὶ γοῦν τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν θυσιαστήριον ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἐπίγειον, τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀνακειμένων, μίαν ὥσπερ ἔχον φωνὴν τὴν κοινὴν, καὶ μίαν γνώμην. *Est igitur altare illud quod apud nos hic est in terris, cœtus ille eorum, qui hic precibus dicati sunt, unam quasi vocem communem habens et mentem unam. Ibid. in Epist. ad Trall.* §. 7. *Ibid. p.* 63.

Altare apud Patres, *mensam Dominicam* passim denotat: apud Ignatium et Polycarpum *sacrarium* quoque. Vide supr. in Epist. ad Magnesian. et ad Trall. *Ibid. in Philadelph.* §. 4. *Ibid.* p. 76.

more natural, than for Jewish and Gentile converts, with their old religious associations, to apply the term *altar*, though in *no strict* or *proper* sense, to that which they found under their adopted profession to bear the nearest analogy to it.—Just in the same way the term *altar*, though *excluded* from our formularies at the Reformation, has survived in the language of the people, and may innocently continue to do so, unless injudicious men revive the idea of its connexion with a *proper sacrifice.*

Mr. Newman appears to misapprehend my remarks on the Crucifix. Indeed he has completely mystified my language by wresting the word "*reverence*" from its *mean* position between "*worship*" and "*religious interest*," and translating it as simple *respect.*—I, on the other hand, am at a loss to understand what idea he attaches to that "*use* of the Crucifix" which he admits to prevail to a certain extent;—what "*emblem* or *symbol*," he would insinuate, that we *may* "bow down to," as God's appointment; and as the worship of images, which "God has "not appointed," is confessed to be idolatrous, in what cases, or "*given individuals*," it could possibly cease to be so. (p. 25.)

I shrink from characterizing the feeling, or the want of it, which can exult in the offensive display of the extravagancies of Sectarian interpretation of Prophecy against our (and Mr. Newman's?) venerated Church, as a fair set-off against the Protestant view of its application to the Church of Rome. (p. 31—37.) However, lest any one should take fright at the tremendous alternative of our "*coming from the synagogue of Satan*," and having "*the Devil's orders*," I simply urge, in the words of an ingenious writer, "That the succession of Church offices "is no more affected by the errors of Popery, than a man's "pedigree is affected by his bodily distemper, or the dis-

"tempers of his parents;—and if the man, by alteratives "and restoratives, is cured with the blessing of God, he "returns to the state of his purer ancestors of a remote "generation [b]."

His infelicity in referring to Scripture in support of an argument of his own on this subject, goes a step beyond that already noticed in his reference to Ignatius. His argument in short depends, I will not say for its soundness, but for its bare pretence to plausibility, entirely on the supposition of the *word Rome* being *literally* found in the Apocalypse, whereas *it is not there at all!* (p. 38.)—I would observe, however, that this avowal of his opinion on the prophecies relating to the great Apostasy, completely bears out my inference, (Sermon, p. 26.) that the decided advocacy of the Church of Rome, which some persons now adopt, is quite inconsistent with their having identified her with the mysterious "Babylon;"—that consequently, if our best interpreters of Prophecy be not wholly mistaken in their views, (and, in main points at least, I confess that I see not how they are to be confuted,) these persons are doing their best to blind the eyes of thoughtless people, and at a most inauspicious period, to a danger of awful magnitude. If the future fulfilment of Prophecy be, *in its detail*, confessedly beyond our penetration, it is but the more imperatively required of us "not to be high-minded, but fear," lest haply, when the day of destruction cometh, "London" herself, (according to Mr. Newman's flippant suggestion,) "with "her ships and sailors, merchants and merchandise," be actually found within the devoted precinct.

The determination to maintain the comparative innocence of Popery *before the Council of Trent*, is even more decisively evinced in Mr. Newman's letter, than in the

b "Short View," &c. Scholar Armed, vol. II. p. 57.

instances to which I have already adverted. While the force of plain historical truth compels the confession, that Image-worship was sanctioned at the second Council of Nicæa, (why not add A. D. 787?) and Transubstantiation at the Fourth Lateran, (why not add A. D. 1215?), and that other abuses (no date given) preceded the Council of Trent, it is declared of these notorious and inveterate corruptions that they were for the most part "*in* the Church, but not *of* it;"—*floating* opinions "and practices," (p. 13.)—"doctrines *doubtfully* broached "or *factiously* defended;" "the *private* and unresolved "opinions of *some certain only*;" (p. 15, 16.)—and that "if Rome has apostatized, it was at the time of the "Council of Trent." (p. 14.)—On the other hand, a sort of merit is made, of one of the "Tracts for the "Times" having declared in large letters, to draw attention, that "while Rome *is what it is*, union with it is "impossible;" (p. 18.)—and of Mr. Froude's calling the Council of Trent "atrocious," and "wishing for the "total overthrow of the system, which is built upon it." (p. 12.)—But who, let me ask, is to be deceived by all this? and where lies the doubt, as to the wished-for inference with regard to Rome, *as she was* before the Reformation? Let Mr. Froude, who is happily somewhat more given to plainness of speech than his abettors, be permitted to speak out for himself and them, and tell us *why* he hated the Council of Trent, and Rome *as she is*. "I shall not," says he, "ever abuse the Roman "Catholics, as a Church, *for any thing except excommuni-* "*cating us*." (Remains, p. 395.) "——— admits, that if "the Roman Catholics would *revoke their anathemas*, we "might reckon all the points of difference as *theological* "*opinions*. This τόπος is a good one." (*Ibid.* p. 320.)

Mr. Newman asks, (p. 42.) "In what sense do you "mean that the *writers* of the Tracts appeal to the

"*Lutherans*, when *not* the writers, but *only Bp. Cosin* in "the Tracts, appeals, *not* to the Lutherans, but the "*whole Protestant world?*"—This is utterly uncandid, and must not be allowed to pass.—The Tract, No. 27, is a Treatise of Bp. Cosin's; but being *adopted as a Tract*, becomes from that moment, *every letter of it*, the avowed language of the *Tract writers*. They *do appeal distinctly* to the *Lutherans* (the known supporters of *Consubstantiation*) and *to the whole Protestant world*, at a period, unluckily, when a belief in the *real presence*, closely bordering on *Consubstantiation*, was widely prevalent. (See Note C. Appendix.) England notoriously presented no exception to this, in the age of Laud and Cosin, (the pattern age of Mr. Froude and the Tract writers.) Cosin cites Bilson and Andrews, as arguing thus with the Papists. "Christ said, '*This is my body;*' in this, "the object, we *are agreed* with you; the *manner* only "is controverted. We hold by a firm belief, that *it is* "*the body* of Christ;—of the *manner* how it comes to be "so, there is not a word in the Gospel." (Tract 27. p. 4.)—Bramhall, as cited by Mr. Newman, (p. 20.) says, "Abate us *Transubstantiation*, and those things which "are consequent of their determination of the *manner* "of presence, and we have *no difference* with them (the "Romanists) in this particular."

A reluctant admission that Mr. Froude allowed, in some sort, a *local* presence of Christ's human nature in the elements, (p. 51.) is followed by a singular attempt (p. 53–63.) to *shew*, by a subtle distinction, that Christ's body may be *locally* in heaven, yet at the same time *really*, though not *locally*, here. "But it is idle," says Professor Hey, "to use words, and by limitations to take away "their customary meaning. As words are arbitrary "signs, they depend for their meaning on custom wholly. "What signifies talking of *a body* not present as *to place?*

"That which is not present in such a sense as to occupy "a place, is not *body*, in human language[c]." Our congregations must be treated as people of plain understandings. If Mr. Newman addresses *his* with subtleties of the kind now adverted to, they will either believe in *both the real and the local* presence; or, remembering the caution of our Church, that "the natural body and blood "of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here; it "being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be "at once in more places than one[d];" they will believe *neither the one nor the other*. In the first case, as to a most important article of their faith, they will *become Papists;* in the other, they will inevitably *take him for a Papist*, and respect his ministrations accordingly. In the mean time, what becomes of the creed of the Pastor himself? The much vaunted "via media" is after all but a treacherous and slippery path, and it is clear enough on which side lies the declivity.

An ambiguous phrase or two in the Formularies or Homilies of our Church, such as, "verily and indeed "taken and received,"—"no untrue figure of a thing "absent," &c. (p. 46.) depending entirely for their meaning on the idea attached to the *real presence*, and decisively explained by her more cautious language elsewhere adopted, such as that just now referred to, afford *no decent pretence* for the assertion, that she countenances such views as those of Mr. Froude, or the writers of the Tracts. The "glowing thoughts," and eloquent expressions of Hooker, *judiciously* qualified as they are, by his "*causes instrumental*,"—"*as touching efficacy, force, and* "*virtue*," &c. will not bear them out (p. 67.); and if they did, be it remembered, we do not *swear by* Hooker, any more than we do by the *rhetorical figures* of Chrysostom,

c Hey's Divinity Lectures, vol. iv. p. 352.

d Protestation at the end of the Communion Service.

(p. 80.) or the *superstitious credulity* of Cyprian, (p. 78.) whose belief in the miraculous sickness of the child at the sacrament is as little calculated to do credit to his judgment, as the avowed adoption of it is to raise the reputation of Mr. Newman.

With reference to the profane Corinthians, it is argued that "the phrases 'eating and drinking judgment unto "himself, as not discerning the Lord's body,' and 'being "guilty of the body and blood of the Lord,' certainly do "seem to imply some special act of blasphemy, of which "the doctrine of *the real presence does*, and the doctrine "of mere appropriation *does not* supply a sufficient ex-"planation." (p. 83.) Now, not to waste time on an argument from which piety at once recoils, it is a singular fact, and the coincidence is most instructive, that this is the identical argument of the *avowed Papist* Dr. Wiseman, who remarks that "St. Paul characterises "the transgression, just as he would transgressions "against the *real body* of Christ *if present*, but in words "totally inapplicable to the Eucharist, if these be absent "from it[c]." I would not insinuate that Mr. Newman has actually borrowed his weapon from the armoury of the enemy, but merely that having both of them, in every practical view, the same cause to defend, they have with instinctive sympathy caught up the same sophistry. It is a mere delusion to imagine that the denial of *transubstantiation* is the denial of the *Popish doctrine*. The *gross fable* has long since found more or less of a *spiritual* interpretation among the more intelligent of the Papists themselves;—but a belief in a *real presence* still remains, which quite as effectually *deifies* the elements, and sustains the *idolatries* of the *mass*.

After all, however, the prominent feature of Mr. New-

[c] Wiseman's Lectures on the Real Presence, &c. p. 266.

man's Letter is its constant appeal, page after page, to a confused and wearisome medley of *human* and *traditional* authority, coupled with the comparative neglect of that *unerring rule* which can alone decide the points at issue. It seems the inveterate habit of his mind, imparting a tone and colour to his ordinary phraseology, even where no direct appeal is thought of. Thus we are recommended to "throw ourselves into that system of "truth, which our fathers have handed down even "through the worst of times;" (p. 98.)—we are reminded of "the pleasant and fair pastures of Catholic "doctrine, which are our heritage;" (p. 71.)—of "the "spirit, the truth, the old Catholic life and power which "is in" certain opinions; (p. 4.)—and we are exhorted to "live up to the *creeds*, the *services*, the *ordinances*, the "*usages* of our own *Church*;" (p. 98.)—but why not up to the *precepts of the Gospel* also?

Much in the same spirit, and under what influence no one doubts, the *British Critic*, referring to my Sermon, says, that "at this time of day the word of no one man, "unsupported by argument or appeal to authority, can "stop the course of thought in the University, or deter "inquiring minds from *following the paths of Hooker*, *An-* "*drews, and Bull, or of their masters Irenæus or Cyprian*[f]." But what, it may be asked, "stopped the course of" the sentence, in its natural ascent to the *masters of these masters, the inspired Apostles and Evangelists of Jesus Christ?*

Oxford, July 13, 1838.

[f] British Critic for July, 1838, p. 232.

PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION.

LITTLE now remains to be remarked, as Mr. Newman's few notes to the Second Edition of his Letter make no farther attempt to meet my main charges against Mr. Froude, the Tract-writers, &c., and are also silent on several points which had been more incidentally referred to.

Since however he still maintains the earlier use of the word *Altar* for the *Lord's Table*, I will say, that when Tertullian, at the end of the *second* century, or the very beginning of the *third*, recommended a person to *stand at the Altar of God*, ("*Nonne solennior erit statio tua, si* "*et ad aram Dei steteris?*" De Orat. c. xiv.) he evidently meant *at the Lord's Table*;—but that we may fairly conclude this application of the word to have been very recently adopted, and perhaps to have been even yet unknown in the Eastern Churches, from the passage already cited (p. vi.) from Clement of Alexandria, and written nearly at the close of the *second* century, actually *defining* the Christian *Altar* as "*a congregation of* "*persons intent on prayer*;"—a definition still farther illustrated by that which he immediately afterwards gives of *Sacrifice*,—"*The Sacrifice of the Church is prayer sent* "*up as incense from holy minds*" (καὶ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ θυσία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, λόγος ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ψυχῶν ἀναθυμιώμενος).

As to Mr. Newman's observation, that *second* meanings imply *first*, and that Ignatius's *figure* is taken from a *literal* altar (note, p. 43),—thus much may be readily conceded. But why must this *literal* Altar be a *Christian* Altar?—and will he gravely contend, that the converts to Christianity could no longer borrow so much as a *metaphor* from their old Religions?

Mr. Newman urges that the writers whose views I

censure, are not shewn to *overvalue tradition*, (note, p.6.) The formal proof of this did not (as explained, p. 16.) come within the scope of my Sermon. But what must be Mr. N.'s own idea of *over*-valuing it, when he has not scrupled to write a long letter, justifying their views by a great variety of *merely human* authority, and studiously avoiding an appeal *to Scripture*, even on the vital doctrine of the *Eucharist?*—The excuse assigned, somewhat preposterously, for this omission (note, p. 6) is, that *I am a Churchman;*—a member, be it observed, of that Church, which has authoritatively declared in her sixth Article, that "whatever is not read in Holy Scripture, "nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of "any man that it should be believed as an Article of "Faith."

He prefers, it should seem, an appeal to the *formularies* of our Church. But how will they avail him? Take for example the case which has been most under review. They discard the term *Altar;*—they reject every idea of a *Sacrifice*, beyond "*praise and thanksgiving;*"—they *discreetly*[a] avoid the equivocal expression "*real presence.*" Hence Mr. Froude's complaint, that "our Communion "Service is a judgment on the Church;"—"crumbs "from the Apostles' Table," (Remains, vol. I. p. 410.)—hence his undisguised preference for the "Mass Book," (Ibid. p. 387.);—his declaration that "the Protestant "principle of the Eucharist is as proud and irreverent "as even Socinianism." (Ibid. p. 391.)—Assuredly those, who agree with Mr. Froude on these and some other points, which have been noticed, may be deemed, *thus*

a So thought Bishop Burnet. "We are convinced that our first Re-"formers judged right concerning the use of the phrase, '*real presence*,' "that it were better to be let fall, than to be continued; since the use of "it, and that idea which does naturally arise from the common accepta-"tion of it, may stick deeper, and feed superstition more, than all those "larger explanations that are given to it, can be able to cure." *Burnet on the Articles*, Art. XXVIII.

far at least, (to borrow an appropriate phrase from Mr. Newman's Letter,) "*in* the Church, but not *of* it."

In the meantime, instead of quietly acquiescing in what they cannot change;—submitting in silence to their imagined privations, and patiently enduring this "meagreness of Protestantism;"—by a species of "*Ec-*
"*clesiastical agitation*," unexampled in obtrusiveness and perseverance, they are unsettling the faith of the weak, offending the judgment of the sober-minded, raising the hopes of the most inveterate adversaries of our Reformed and Protestant Church;—and, as far as a small knot of malcontents can well be supposed capable, they are compromising her character, and disturbing her peace.

WORCESTER, Aug. 18, 1838.

Revelation xviii. 4.

Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sin, and that ye receive not of her plagues.

To the sincere and reflecting members of our Reformed and Apostolical Church, grateful for her emancipation from the spiritual thraldom and degrading superstitions of former centuries, and cherishing the hope of her preserving, through the Divine blessing, the pure light of Gospel truth to the end of time, few subjects can appear more calculated to awaken, if not absolute and immediate alarm, yet at least anxious thought and gloomy forebodings, than the rapid revival of the tenets and the influence of Romanism, which it is our lot to witness. Neither can it be supposed to allay their apprehensions, still less to afford them consolation, to be convinced, as they can scarcely fail to be, that the unwonted impulse, which has been given to this insidious and encroaching system, is the result of our own preposterous impolicy.

Experience, the never-failing and effectual guide of individual conduct, seems to be lost to the observation of communities. In spite of all the lessons of history, occupying, as it may be said to do, the place of national ex-

perience, men appear still prone to pursue in their collective capacity the same blind course of folly and improvidence and failure, ultimately and providentially leading, through discipline and affliction, to repentance and recovery; and, allowing for a few minor modifications arising from times and circumstances, to be carried on in a perpetually revolving circle of causes and consequences to the same inevitable results. The recorded conflicts and sufferings and deliverances of our Church and nation, have faded from the memory of succeeding generations, leaving the impression rather of fable than of fact. The Popery of the present day is no longer regarded as the same Popery which kindled the fires of the Marian persecution, revelled in the tortures of the Inquisition, and overspread the face of Europe with devastation and massacre;—or if it be admitted that her principles are notoriously unchanged, and avowedly unchangable, the guarantee of increasing intelligence and civilization on the one hand, and of the decline of the temporal power of Rome on the other, is confidently appealed to as ample security against every recurrence of barbarous atrocity; and political power is once more rashly committed to those hands, which, to say the least, never employed it, and can never be expected to employ it, but to persecute and oppress the advocates of a purer faith.

Moreover, as though our own power were far above the danger of assault, and our own religious principles beyond the reach of perversion or alloy—and we regarded with equal contempt the superstition and the dominion of Rome—every facility for the dissemination of her tenets is allowed to exist among us. In the plenitude of our infatuated liberality we connive at the revival of monastic establishments; and even those societies, which are so notoriously objectionable as to find no rest for the sole of their foot in a neighbouring country, though professing allegiance to the Papal See, obtain a sure refuge in this common and undisturbed receptacle of all that is religious or irreligious—all that worships God in truth or in heresy — all that forgets or denies him [a]. And the consequences are such as it required no prophet to foretell. In an important portion of our empire Popery once more rears her mitred head; re-assumes, in defiance of violated law, her dignities and titles of honour, re-erects the Cathedral and the Palace, and anticipates—and who shall say without some grounds for such anticipation?—the early prostration of the Protestant esta-

[a] It appears that there are now in England no less than eighteen nunneries, and that a society of Trappists (who are understood to have been refused a settlement in Normandy) are established near Ashby-de-la-Zouche. *L'Ami de la Religion, Journal Ecclésiastique; Paris, Mardi, 9 Mai,* 1837.

blishment under her own restored supremacy[b]. In our own land, too, her seminaries and places of [c]worship have been rapidly multiplying around us, and the tide of Papal superstition, which at its lowest ebb was overlooked as insignificant, and in a measure forgotten, is so obviously rising on us, that men of seriousness and reflection are already, "musing in their hearts" what chastisements may yet be in store for this Church and nation, the meet reward of an ungrateful insensibility to past deliverances and present blessings.

One thing at least is certain, that a revival of the contest between the Churches of England and of Rome has become inevitable, or rather that it has actually commenced; and that, inasmuch as it has fallen on us almost by surprise, it has found us very imperfectly pre-

[b] "It is some consolation to reflect that the legislative axe "is laid to the root of the Establishment. The pruners of "the Ecclesiastical vineyard have not read the Roman history "in vain, and already ten of the lofty plants, which poisoned "by their narcotic influence the wholesome vegetation, are "laid low. This, doubtless, is a prelude to a further and "more enlarged process of expurgation. With every successive "measure of reform, existing abuses will be removed, until it "is to be hoped, not a vestige of the mighty nuisance will "remain." *Letter from Dr. M'Hale to the Bishop of Exeter.—Times, August* 9, 1833.

[c] There are now 430 Roman Catholic chapels in England. That of Moor Fields, which at the beginning of the century had within its district a population of 5000 or 6000 Roman Catholics, has now 30,000. *L'Ami de la Religion, Journal Ecclésiastique; Paris, Mardi,* 9 *Mai,* 1837.

pared for our defence;—it has overtaken us when labouring under the weakness consequent on almost unexampled disunion, both civil and religious; a disadvantage of the most formidable character, when our adversaries are at once subtle and insidious in policy, and united in purpose.

It is not however my object to invite your attention either to that large and respectable class of persons, who, with an unaffected though misguided liberality of feeling, committed the grievous error of mistaking a religious question for one of a simply political nature; or to that, it is to be feared, still more numerous band of the profane and licentious, the indifferent and sceptical, who could not but regard with utter contempt the principles to which I am adverting. A sad experience is rapidly curing the one, and the other are, for the most part, hopelessly inaccessible to religious considerations. But it deeply concerns us to direct our serious thoughts to the condition of the really religious sections of our community, to their views and principles, and to the false and unfavourable position occupied by some among them with reference to the impending struggle.

Now there are notoriously existing among us a large and influential body of Christians, consisting, chiefly, of the dissenting Sects, which fell into schism at or near the period of the Reformation; of those other denomina-

tions which have more recently seceded from the Church; and, unhappily we may add, of those also, who, though nominally members of the Church of England, have in some measure adopted Sectarian views. All these persons, however widely they may differ from each other on many points, naturally constitute but one class, as far as concerns the matter now before us; viz. that of those who despise or lightly regard Ecclesiastical Authority and Christian Unity, the claims of an Apostolical Episcopacy, the Divine commission of the Christian Priesthood; who neglect the guidance of their appointed Pastors, put no faith in their exclusive importance as the Ministers and Stewards of God's holy mysteries, and, by a chain of consequences as necessary as it is deplorable, degrade the Sacraments themselves to a corresponding level; either regarding them merely as initiatory and commemorative rites, or, at the best, losing more or less of their implicit reliance on them as the seals of the Christian Covenant—the efficacious means of grace and salvation. On the other hand, while they thus undervalue the authority and importance of the Church, they as proudly exalt their own, claiming the unlimited exercise of private judgment in the interpretation of Scripture, and maintaining the undoubted capacity for such judgment in all ordinary Christians.

With what prospect of success, it may well

be asked, could the advocate of such views as these enter the lists of controversy with the subtle Romanist? Amid all the errors and corruptions of Popery, enormous as they are, she has not absolutely failed to retain a portion of truth; and this truth, abused though it be in her hands to the purposes of sacerdotal influence, and disguised and distorted by superstition, is precisely that which, when skilfully displayed, is calculated to put to shame and confusion the impugners of Ecclesiastical authority, the despisers of the Ministerial functions, and the desecrators of the Sacraments. In fact, the arrogant claims to independent judgment in religious matters, however vaunted in theory, are ever repudiated by the general practice of mankind, and are utterly inconsistent with the wants and weaknesses of our common nature. The great bulk of every community notoriously consists of those who, from youth, or defective education, or weakness of judgment, or engrossing avocations, or other causes which need no farther enumeration, are utterly incapacitated for originating and completing their religious inquiries for themselves. Authority of some description or other is their sole dependence:—in matters of such high interest as the awful alternatives of a future state, they cannot rest till they have reposed their confidence somewhere. And if the legitimate claim to their religious trust be coldly

withheld, or, at the most, indecisively proposed to them, their most natural refuge is in the bosom of that which assumes to itself the character of an Infallible Church.

The folly and the danger of the latitudinarian and schismatical irregularities thus unhappily characteristic of our Church and Country, have been from time to time powerfully exposed by the zeal and learning of her members, and sounder views of Christian Unity, Ecclesiastical Subordination, the Ministerial Office, the Sacramental Ordinances, and other strictly Catholic principles, have been in some degree rescued from the almost general neglect and obloquy to which the spirit of a thoughtless and licentious age had consigned them. And still more recently it has fallen to our lot to witness—and God grant, that notwithstanding present untoward appearances, we may even yet deem it our happiness and privilege to have witnessed—a combination of talent and learning and industry, directed to the same important objects with a zeal and devotedness worthy of the purest ages of Christianity. It has become, however, no longer possible to disguise the painful fact, that the hopes thus excited have been succeeded by at least a temporary disappointment, and by a feeling of suspicion and even alarm, which the most candid and dispassionate observers no longer pronounce to be either vague or indefinite or unfounded ; that

the zealous efforts to revive a due respect for Ecclesiastical and properly Catholic principles, have been far too little connected with the requisite caution regarding their inveterate abuse by the Church of Rome; and that amidst much of important truth elicited and displayed, an alloy of Popish error and superstition has undeniably insinuated itself[c].

The general object being at once so desirable and so ably pursued, a few unguarded statements, the result probably of individual haste and indiscretion—and it might have been hoped, abandoned on reflection by the authors themselves—it would have been premature, it might even have been injudicious, to notice with any severity of censure. But when they assume more and more unequivocally the marks of deliberation and design, the evidence of numbers and of combination; when the most plausible palliations of Romish corruption, and the most insidious cavils against the wisdom, and even in some measure the necessity, of the Reformation, find their way into the periodical and popular and most widely disseminated literature of the day;—when the wild and visionary sentiments of an enthusiastic mind, involving in their

[c] This has at length become so notorious, that the Romanists themselves, not in this country only, but on the continent, are deriving hope and encouragement from our presumed change of views and principles. See Appendix, note A.

unguarded expression an undisguised preference for a portion at least of Papal superstition, and occasionally even a wanton outrage on the cherished feelings of the sincere Protestant—his pious affection for those venerated names which he habitually associates with the inestimable blessings of the Reformation[d]—are dragged forth from the sanctuary of confidential intercourse, and recommended to the public as "a witness of Catholic views," and to "speak a word in season for the Church of "God[e];" as "likely to suggest thoughts on "doctrine, on Church policy, and on indivi-"dual conduct, most true and most necessary

[d] "As to the Reformers, I think worse and worse of them. "Jewell was what you would in these days call an irreve-"rent dissenter. His Defence of his Apology disgusted me "more than almost any work I have read." *Remains of the late Rev. Richard Hurrell Froude, M.A. Fellow of Oriel College*, vol. I. p. 380.

Also, "Why do you praise Ridley? Do you know suffi-"cient good about him to counterbalance the fact, that he "was the associate of Cranmer, Peter Martyr, and Bucer? "N. B. How beautifully the Edinburgh Review has shewn "up Luther, Melancthon, and Co.! What good genius has "possessed them to do our dirty work?.....*Pour moi*, I never "mean, if I can help it, to use any phrases even, which can "connect me with such a set. I shall never call the Holy "Eucharist 'the Lord's Supper,' nor God's Priests, 'Min-"isters of the Word,' nor the Altar, 'the Lord's Table,' &c. "&c.;—innocent as such phrases are in themselves, they "have been dirtied; a fact of which you seem oblivious on "many occasions." *Ibid.* p. 394, 395.

[e] Preface to Froude's Remains, p. xxii.

"for these times," and as "a bold and com-
"prehensive sketch of a new position" for the Church of England[f];—and this too under circumstances which imply the concurrence and approval, and responsibility too, of an indefinite and apparently numerous body of friends and correspondents and editors and reviewers; —who shall any longer deny the imperative necessity which exists for the most decisive language of warning and caution, lest these rash projectors of "a new position" for our Church should be unwarily permitted to undermine and impair her old and approved defences?

The leading particulars in which this increasing aberration from Protestant principles has displayed itself, may perhaps be considered as the following:—a disposition to overrate the importance of Apostolical Tradition, and the authoritative teaching of the Church; —exaggerated and unscriptural statements of doctrine with regard to the two Sacraments; —and a general tendency on the one hand to depreciate the principles of Protestantism and the character and conduct of the Reformers, and on the other, not indeed absolutely to deny the grosser corruptions of Popery, but so far to palliate her errors, and display in the most favourable light whatever remnant of good she still retains, as to leave it in a man-

[f] British Critic for January 1838, p. 225.

ner doubtful to which side the balance of truth inclines, and to banish from the mind of the unwary Protestant every idea of the extreme guilt and danger of a reunion with an Idolatrous and Antichristian Apostasy.

With regard to the Traditions of the Church, as an authority distinct from Holy Scripture, independently of the vast extent of the subject, there are obvious and special reasons why I must on this day[g] decline to enter on their consideration. Suffice it to say, that within due limits, and on certain subjects, and in legitimate subordination to inspired truth, the principle is not merely useful, but necessary, being dangerous only by excess or abuse, or when not scrupulously disengaged from those polluted channels, in exploring which, extreme distrust is natural, and extreme caution indispensable.

The discussion of Baptismal Regeneration also would carry us far beyond the limits of the present opportunity; not to mention that the gloomy views of sin after Baptism, now professed by some persons, which have chiefly called forth animadversion and complaint, are no direct revival of Popish error, though it must be admitted that they have unhappily found a natural and easy connection with those rigid mortifications, and

[g] The day on which one of the Bampton Lecture Sermons on the same subject was also preached.

self-abasements, and painful penances [h], which call us back at once to the darkest period of Roman superstition; and which have an evident tendency hopelessly to alarm and repel those abettors of low and rationalistic views of the Sacramental Ordinances, whom it is our especial object to win and persuade to a saving faith in their genuine and inestimable importance.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, however, both with reference to the superstitions notoriously engrafted on it by the Church of Rome, and the gradual and near approximation towards the same superstitions recently observable in the views of some members of our own Communion, requires a more distinct and particular consideration. Of all the peculiar tenets of Romanism, none probably can, to common apprehension, appear less reconcilable to reason or Scripture, or more worthy of those ages of intellectual darkness during which it acquired its ascendancy, than that of Transubstantiation. It is probably as difficult for my present hearers to understand our Saviour literally, when he said, "This is "my body," "This is my blood," as when, on other occasions, he described himself as "the door of the sheep [i]," or "the true vine [k]." It is equally incredible, or rather absolutely

[h] See Appendix, Note B. [i] John x. 7. [k] John xv. 1.

impossible, that the Apostles should have imagined that the very same body, in which, in its full integrity, their blessed Master stood visibly before them, was also in his hands, and offered to them to be eaten. We know in fact, that they had no idea of such a marvellous transformation; that they considered, that when Christians "ate of that bread and "drank of that cup, they shewed" (καταγγέλλετε, *ye declare* or *commemorate*) "the Lord's "death[l]," representing by visible symbols his absent body and blood: and moreover, that when, in obedience to his commands, they "did this in remembrance of him," "the cup "of blessing which they blessed, and the "bread which they brake," were effectually made to them "the *communion*" (κοινωνία, *communication, participation*) "of his body and "blood[m]," of the benefits of his sufferings and death.

The case of the profane Corinthians[n] is a sufficient proof that they had never heard of Transubstantiation. Had St. Paul inculcated upon them that doctrine, or any other modification of the *real presence* of Christ's body and blood in the elements of bread and wine, their conduct would have been not simply incredible, but morally impossible. It is no less evident that they ate at a *table*, not at an *altar*.

[l] 1 Cor. xi. 26. [m] 1 Cor. x. 16. [n] 1 Cor. xi.

Indeed the term *altar*, as synonymous with the Lord's table, does not appear to have been adopted till about the end of the second century; and then merely in a figurative sense, and out of a spirit of accommodation, as it should seem, and with a view to conciliate the prejudices of Jews and Pagans, who habitually reproached the Christians as having neither altar nor sacrifice[o]. The early Fathers constantly designate the bread and wine as "signs," "symbols," "figures," "sacraments," —not indeed as empty signs, but as attended by the blessing of Christ who instituted them, and as efficacious to the worthy receiver.

It would be tedious, as it is unnecessary, to trace the progressive encroachments of Superstition to its final triumph over plain Scripture and right reason. The gross idea of the corporal presence in the Sacrament was not of very early growth in the Christian Church. Its origin is generally assigned to the eighth century, and its decided adoption by the Church of Rome to the eleventh[p]:—but from that moment she became fully sensible of its

[o] Justin Martyr, Apol. 2. Origen, contra Cels. lib. 8.

[p] Berenger's recantation of his opposition to this doctrine was forced on him by pope Nicholas II. and the Roman Council A. D. 1058. *Mosheim, Eccl. Hist.* vol. II. p. 561. It was finally established by Innocent III, and the 4th Lateran Council A. D. 1215. *Ibid.* vol. III. p. 243.

paramount importance to her views and interests. Investing the priesthood with a character almost superhuman, and with an influence proportionably unbounded over an ignorant and credulous age, it became the corner-stone of that spiritual despotism which she erected upon the liberties and consciences of mankind: and, strange as this may now appear to those whose minds have never been subjected to the overwhelming prejudice, it was, of all the superstitions of Romanism, the one from which the Reformers found the greatest difficulty in emancipating themselves. The actual worship, the absolute deification of the Sacramental elements which the Church of Rome maintained, had habituated pious and humble minds to such a devout reverence for them, that they could not approach the consideration of the sacred subject of the Eucharist without such impressions of awe as necessarily disturbed the calm exercise of their reasoning powers. It is notorious, that Cranmer himself had been for many years engaged in forwarding the English Reformation before he could succeed in reforming his own convictions on this point. Luther indeed, and many other of the German reformers, may fairly be considered never to have fully escaped from the inveterate prejudice. In specious opposition indeed to Popery, they took refuge in what has been termed Consubstan-

tiation, thereby adopting a distinction without any practical difference. For if, in denying the gross, organic, and tangible change, a *real* and *substantial* presence of the body and blood of Christ be still admitted to be combined *with* the bread and wine—if the subtle refinement still leaves behind and involved in the consecrated elements a *present* body and *present* Deity—it would be difficult to assign a reason, why the elevation and worship of the host, and the whole train of attendant superstition which followed the Popish version of the doctrine, may not as naturally be deduced from this also.

I have been thus particular in calling your attention to this marked feature of the early days of the Reformation, that you may the better appreciate the alarming fact, that it is to those half-converted German Reformers, and to the strong and unguarded expressions which their works supply, that appeal is now made by members of our Church, for their statements of the doctrine of the Eucharist; such as, "that the bread and wine are "not the signs of the absent body and blood "of Christ"—"that the true body and blood "of Christ are truly presented, given, and re-"ceived together with the visible signs of "bread and wine;" "that Christ in his holy "Supper gives us the true and proper sub-

"stance of his body and blood[q]." Now granting that these expressions may be, and indeed are, generally qualified by assigning to them a spiritual sense—this is obviously insufficient. The Papist himself, when not too closely pressed by the decrees of his Church, is occasionally found to admit that the presence is not strictly corporal. The distinction required clearly lies between the body and blood of Christ being *spiritually included* in the elements, and *spiritually received* by the faithful; or, as Bishop Taylor explains it, "We by the real "spiritual presence of Christ do understand "Christ to be present, as the Spirit of God is "present in the hearts of the faithful, by "blessing and grace[r]."

The naked and unqualified and therefore ambiguous expression *real presence*, now so systematically and studiously adopted by some persons, is highly objectionable and dangerous: and there is but too much reason to apprehend that some of those who employ it are far even from intending the supposed qualification. Those at least cannot intend it who advance the startling position,

[q] Tracts for the Times, vol. I. No. 27. See Appendix, note C.

[r] Bishop Taylor of the Real and Spiritual Presence of Christ in the Holy Sacrament. Section I. See Appendix, note D.

"that the power of *making* the body and "blood of Christ is vested in the successors of "the Apostles[s];" who pronounce the expression "Lord's table," authorized as it is by Scripture and our Church, to be so polluted by Protestant use, as to be no longer fitted to designate the *altar*[t]; who are become so sensitive with regard to the altar itself, as to attach importance even to the situation of a pulpit, lest it stand in the light of what "is "more sacred than the Holy of Holies[u];" and who with reference, no doubt, to the "sacri-"fice of praise and thanksgiving," and other well-guarded language of our Liturgy, declare our present Communion-service to be "a "judgment on the Church[x]," and point out the advantage of "replacing it by a good "translation of the liturgy of St. Peter[y]."

[s] "I should like to know why you flinch from saying that "the power of making the body and blood of Christ is vested "in the Successors of the Apostles." *Froude's Remains*, vol. I. p. 326.

[t] Ibid. ut supra.

[u] "If you are determined to have a pulpit in your church, "which I had rather be without, do put it at the west end of "the church, or leave it where it is: every one can hear you "perfectly, and what can they want more? But whatever "you do, pray don't let it stand in the light of the Altar, "which, if there is any truth in my notions of Ordination, is "more sacred than the Holy of Holies was in the Jewish "temple." *Ibid.* p. 372.

[x] Ibid. p. 410.

[y] Ibid. p. 387.

To affirm that these persons are strictly Papists, or that within certain limits of their own devising they are not actually opposed to the corruptions and the Communion of Rome, would, I am well aware, be as uncharitable as it is untrue. But who shall venture to pronounce them safe and consistent members of the Church of England? and who shall question the obvious tendency of their views to Popery itself? For if by some happy inconsistency they are themselves, and for the present, saved from the natural consequences of their own reasoning, what shall we hope for the people at large, should these delusive speculations (which God in his infinite mercy forbid) extend their influence beyond the circle (and it is hoped not yet a very extensive circle) of educated men, to which they are at present limited? If such should become the ordinary instruction of the unwary pastor to his credulous flock, what shall preserve them from all the fascinations and idolatries of the Mass, or from welcoming with open arms those crafty emissaries who have already succeeded to such a fearful extent in reimposing the yoke of spiritual bondage on the neck of our deluded countrymen?

In the more general tendency to depreciate the principles of the Reformation and palliate the errors of Romanism, to which I have be-

fore adverted, the most marked and striking feature is the studious attempt to draw a broad line of distinction between Popery *before* and Popery *since* the Council of Trent; to maintain that the religion of Rome, "so "far as relates to those particulars in which "it differs from our own, is in strictness a new "religion, having its origin with that ever-to-"be-lamented Council [z];" and we are told in plain terms, that "for this, Christendom has "to thank Luther and the Reformers [a]." And what is the natural and inevitable inference? —that the Reformation, which in all the blindness of Protestant prejudice we gratefully regard as the very chiefest of blessings,—as the revival of pure religion after ages of superstition and idolatry,—was for the most part unnecessary, and of course a flagrant and unjustifiable breach of Catholic communion.

[z] "We commonly but carelessly acquiesce in the notion—"fatal as, were it true, it would prove to the Catholicism "of our English Church—that the religion now taught by the "Church of Rome, was the religion once spread over Western "Europe, our own island included, and that our Protestant "doctrines are comparatively new among us. Whereas the "fact is, that the religion of existing Rome, so far as relates "to those particulars in which it differs from our own, is in "strictness a new religion, having its origin with the ever-"to-be-lamented Council of Trent." *British Critic, for July* 1836, p. 52.

[a] Froude's Remains, vol. I. p. 307. See Appendix, note E.

How far this novel view of History, and, I may add, of Prophecy too, may have made men the apologists of Popery, as though she were unjustly calumniated and defamed, or how far, on the other hand, an admiration for some of her principles may have made them desirous of casting a veil of oblivion over the rest, it is not possible precisely to determine. These views, indeed, may in all probability have exercised a reciprocal influence on each other. But we can scarcely be mistaken in assigning the larger share of the supposed influence to the latter. How indeed else can we account for the prejudice which can overlook the idolatries and superstitions of her early career, the superadded impostures and cruelties of succeeding ages, and the portentous accumulation of abuses in faith and practice, which, when finally viewed by the light of reviving intelligence, absolutely *compelled* the Reformation;—or which can fail to recognise in them the clear fulfilment of those memorable prophecies of the great Apostasy, of which few indeed, with the exception of the Papists themselves, have for centuries past denied the obvious application?

These persons at least can scarcely be supposed to have identified the mysterious "Babylon," "the mother of harlots and abominations of the "earth [b]," "the woman sitting on the seven

[b] Rev. xvii. 5.

"mountains[c]," "the great city which reigneth "over the kings of the earth[d]," with idolatrous and Papal Rome; or to recognise in her Communion those who "give heed to doctrines of "demons" or souls of departed men; "forbid-"ding to marry, and commanding to abstain "from meats[e];"—to have discovered in St. Paul's "Man of Sin, who opposeth and exalteth "himself above all that is called God, or that is "worshipped, so that he as God sitteth in the "temple of God, shewing that he is God[f]," the blasphemous titles and assumptions of the supreme head of the Romish Church—or his "signs and lying wonders with all deceivable-"ness of unrighteousness[g]," in the shameless impostures and lying legends, with which she has for ages deluded her enslaved and credulous votaries. Least of all can they apprehend the awful and sudden destruction which has been prophetically denounced against her[h], or be giving heed to the timely warning, "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not "partakers of her sins, and that ye receive "not of her plagues[i]." It is, however, at all events, not too much to assume, that, making due allowance for differences of opinion as to the minute interpretation of particular points, such is the prevailing belief of English Pro-

[c] Rev. xvii. 9. [d] Rev. xvii. 18. [e] 1 Tim. iv. 1, 3.
[f] 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4. [g] 2 Thess. ii. 9, 10. [h] Rev. xviii. 8.
[i] Rev. xviii. 4.

testants; and that, supposing even but a fair probability of its general truth, it merits the most serious consideration in times like the present[k].

But as Idolatry (spiritual fornication) is the head and front of her offences, as it is that sin for which, of all others, we have inspired authority for anticipating the severest vengeance of Heaven; and which is the most distinct characteristic of the predicted Apostasy;—as, nevertheless, the Church of Rome endeavours to evade the charge by explaining her image-worship as a merely representative and commemorative system, a few moments' attention to this point may be required. So early did the symptoms of Idolatry develope themselves in the Roman Church, that instead of a novelty, they may be in some sort regarded as the continuation, or at the least the very early revival under a new form, of the inveterate usages of Paganism. No sooner had Imperial authority declared Christianity to be the Religion of the State, than worldly views rather than sincere conversion brought numerous adherents to her Communion; and the compromising policy of the Roman Bishops led them in some measure to indulge those Heathen predilections for visible objects of worship which they could not wholly eradicate. The sacred cross—the tombs and relics

[k] See Appendix, note F.

of martyrs—the pictures and images of Apostles and Saints—gradually became objects of religious veneration; the veneration thus naturally excited insensibly advanced to actual worship; and the simplicity of primitive piety, the reasonable and spiritual service of the Almighty Creator and Redeemer and Sanctifier of mankind, was superseded by the invocation of Saints; accompanied, no doubt, in the vulgar mind, with as abject a homage to their images of wood and stone as ever was paid to the idols of Paganism.

In fact, independently of the connexion between Pagan and Popish Idolatry observable in this particular case, it is by no means easy to trace the moral discrimination between them, either in their origin or in their effects. The hero of Heathen Antiquity and the Romish Saint arrived at the honours of worship by a process completely similar; and the excuse of a merely commemorative intention is quite as reasonable in the one case as in the other. The educated Pagan was not likely to have confounded the image with the absolute Deity any more than the Papist himself. But who, under either system, shall limit the tendencies of popular superstition;—of that tendency chiefly by which the visible image insensibly supersedes, in the estimation of the ordinary worshipper, the being whom it is supposed to represent? For without some idea

of peculiar sanctity attached to an image, as such, how shall we account for the crowds of pilgrims who flock to certain favourite shrines of the Virgin or other Saints, when the presumed object of their mistaken devotion might have been worshipped without toil or expense at home?

He who "knoweth what is in man" has prohibited the "graven image," not of false gods alone, but of the one true God himself[1]; there is neither exception nor reserve even for the image of the Incarnate Word. Will it then be credited by any one not already cognizant of the fact, that the crucifix, the effective engine, the notorious emblem of Romish superstition, is once more becoming, with some professed Protestants, an object, not indeed of worship—scarcely let us hope even of reverence—yet at least of religious interest. "The "beginning," as "of strife," so of every other evil, "is as when one letteth out water[m]." It is an experiment full of fearful hazard, yea rather of awful presumption. Pride, the primeval curse of man's race, still pursues him. God issues a prohibition; man comprehends

[1] "Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves; for ye "saw no manner of similitude on the day that the Lord "spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire: lest "ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the "similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female." *Deut.* iv. 15, 16.

[m] Prov. xvii. 1.

not its reason or its purpose; he longs for clearer apprehensions of things unseen; it is a thing "to be desired to make one wise[n]." Vain man would be wiser than his God.

Idolatry, then, the leading characteristic of religious apostasy, was widely prevalent in the Roman Church at least as early as the sixth and seventh centuries[o]; and in the eighth the conscientious, though unsuccessful, opposition of the Eastern Emperors only served to confirm its uncontrolled dominion; while the corrupt decrees of the second Nicene Council[p] invested it with the high sanction of acknowledged authority. The whole train of superstitions and abuses now followed in rapid succession; monastic austerities, clerical celibacy, the systematic imposture of pretended miracles, the portentous delusions of Purgatory[q] and Transubstantiation, and the especial worship of the Virgin Mary[r]; in short, almost all the well known attributes

[n] Gen. iii. 6.

[o] "The use and even the worship of images was firmly "established before the end of the sixth century." *Gibbon, Decline and Fall,* vol. IX. p. 118.

[p] A. D. 787.

[q] "The doctrine of Purgatory was carried to a great "height in the *tenth* century." *Mosheim, Eccl. Hist.* vol. II. p. 417.

[r] "The worship of the Virgin Mary also, which had been "previously carried to a great degree of idolatry, received "further accessions in the tenth century. Her rosary and "crown may be traced to this age." *Ibid.* p. 429.

of Popery, attained their full developement in the eleventh century; and even at this early period had aroused the first display of that strenuous opposition, which, afterwards designated by the name of Protestantism, has ever since resisted her pretensions[s].

Two glaring abuses were yet wanting to complete the dreadful catalogue; the prohibition of Scripture, and the establishment of the Inquisition[t]. They were adopted indeed for the very purpose of maintaining her inveterate corruptions, and persevered in with a skilfulness of policy and a remorseless energy of purpose, which enabled her to ward off for three full centuries, and eventually to render incomplete, the triumph of the Reformation;—though at the same time she effected this through deeds of cruelty and slaughter, and a reckless destruction of human life, which cast into the shade even the blood-stained records of Pagan persecution, realizing the most revolting feature of her prophetic portrait—"drunken with the blood of the saints[u]."

[s] "A religious sect at Orleans, in 1017, and another in "Flanders, in 1025, opposed Transubstantiation, the Invo-"cation of Saints, and other Popish doctrines and practices. "The first were burnt for their supposed heresy; the others "were persuaded to recant." *Dupin, Histoire de l'Eglise en abrégé*, III. 187, 188. Paris, 1726.

[t] These originated in the daring and skilful policy of Innocent III. at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

[u] Rev. xvii. 7.

In defiance, as it were, of these the plainest facts of history, the fatal Council of Trent is now declared to have made the Church of Rome what she is, and to have "given her a "new character, which has in a great mea-"sure disqualified us from passing an accu-"rate judgment upon her old one[x]." It has indeed, in one sense, given her a new and most awful character. Through an infatuation, bearing to human apprehension the fearful aspect of judicial blindness, it has pledged and committed the Papacy to continue, under the light of improved intelligence, every corruption of faith and practice, which had marked her course through ages of darkness and superstition; it has set the seal of immutability on the abominations of previous centuries, cutting her off even from the power of repentance, and from every apparent hope of escaping that dreadful doom which has been denounced on her persevering apostasy.

But are we required to infer from hence, that before the Reformation, though corrupt indeed and superstitious, she was comparatively free from many of her grossest abuses? —that but for the unreasonable violence of the Reformers, her Communion might by possibility have been maintained?—that consequently these Reformers were the authors rather of

[x] British Critic for July 1836, p. 53.

evil than of good!—Surely, however, little short of this can be intended by that systematic advocacy of the Romish Church with which we are now assailed;—by the growing disposition to palliate her errors, and even to commend and admire and imitate a portion, at least, of her system and practice. We are called upon to regard her as "God's favoured instrument "of good[y];" as "the chosen method in the "Councils of Providence for keeping Christi-"anity in reverence[z];" as "playing an im-"portant part as the conservator of Christian-"ity;" as "our spiritual parent, over whose "errors in her earlier days we should duti-"fully mourn[a]." We are reminded, that "the "vaunted antiquity, the universality, the una-"nimity of their church, puts the Papists "above the varying fashions of the world, and "the religious novelties of the day[b]."

On the other hand, our understandings, as well as our feelings, are outraged by insinuations against "the *so called* Reformers[c]," and the error of those who speak of the "blessed

[y] British Critic for July 1836, p. 79.

[z] Ibid. p. 80.

[a] Ibid. p. 82.

[b] Tracts for the Times, vol. I. No. 20. p. 3. See Appendix, Note G.

[c] "The glory of the English Church is, that it has taken "the *Via Media*, as it has been called. It lies between the "(so called) Reformers and the Romanists." *Ibid.* No. 38. p. 6.

"Reformation[d]." We are even reproached for our "odious Protestantism[e];" for "regarding "the Papacy as a devastating phenomenon; "for fixing as well as we can the exact epoch "of its appearance, and for reckoning up the "years that have since elapsed, as though won-"dering that the continuance of such a pest "through so lengthened a period should have "been foredoomed in the Councils of Heaven[f]." Again, it is rashly—let us hope not insidiously—suggested, that we are "a *Reformed, not a* "*Protestant* Church[g];" and the eager desire is expressed to "*unprotestantise*[h]" us, at the very moment when the corrupt and debasing

d "I shall beg them to reproach me not with *Popery*, but "with *Protestantism*, and to be impartial enough to assail "not only me, but 'the blessed Reformation,' as they often "call it, using words they do not understand." *Ibid.* p. 8.

e "I must go about the country to look for the stray sheep "of the true fold; there are many about, I am sure; only "that odious Protestantism sticks in people's gizzard." *Froude's Remains*, vol. I. p. 322.

f British Critic for July 1836, p. 55.

g "The English Church, as such, is *not* Protestant, only "politically, that is, externally, or so far as it has been made "an establishment, and subjected to national and foreign "influences. It claims to be merely *Reformed*, not Protest-"ant, and it repudiates any fellowship with the mixed mul-"titude which crowd together, whether at home or abroad, "under a mere political banner." *Tracts for the Times*, vol. III. No. 71. p. 32.

h "I wish you could get to know something of S. and "W. and un——ise, un-Protestantise, un-Miltonise them." *Froude's Remains*, vol. I. p. 332.

system against which it is our wisdom and our piety to *protest*, is once more spreading its toils around us; when, so far from decrying and weakening the honest and Protestant, but somewhat dormant prepossessions of our countrymen, we should raise the warning voice, should "cry aloud and spare not[h]," lest they "be destroyed for lack of knowledge[i]."

The world, in its present condition, if we regard the forms of religion professed, and the insignificant proportion even of the *name* of Christianity; and the sweeping deductions which we must thence make for corruptions and heresies, superstitions and idolatries, and the various departures from the "truth as it is "in Jesus," affords to the eye of human reason a prospect rather of despair than of cheering hope, not merely for Catholic Communion, but even for the success of the Gospel itself. But He is faithful who has promised, that there shall at length be "one fold and one "Shepherd[k]." The good seed has been sown in the unprecedented dispersion of the Scriptures; let us wait in faith and hope for the predicted harvest. Above all, let us not, through impatient zeal, and the premature and vain expectation of realizing Catholic views in the midst of the surrounding desola-

[h] Isaiah lviii. 1.

[i] Hosea iv. 6. See Appendix, Note II.

[k] John x. 16.

tion, incautiously entangle ourselves in those mysteries of iniquity, from which God's mercy has once granted us so signal a deliverance. If we desire to be hereafter *Catholic*, not merely in theory and in prospect, but in happy experience, let us be assured that we must be strictly *Protestant* now; that we must zealously cultivate Gospel truth in our own Communion, and dream neither of fellowship nor compromise with those subtle and encroaching adversaries, who would finally involve us in the awful destinies of Rome.

And now, in the impressive language of Ezra—so appropriately cited by an eminent Prelate of our Church [l], for a similar purpose, but with prospects far less imminently hazardous and threatening than our own—"seeing that thou, our God, hast punished us "less than our iniquities deserve, and hast "given us such deliverance as this; should "we again break thy commandments, and "join in affinity with the people of these abominations, wouldest not thou be angry with "us till thou hadst consumed us, so that there "should be no remnant nor escaping [m]?"

[l] Bishop Newton on the Prophecies; ad finem.
[m] Ezra ix. 13, 14.

APPENDIX.

Note A. p. 13.

"La France n'est pas la seule où se manifeste ce re-
" tour éclatant de notre siècle vers les doctrines et les
" institutions de l'Église catholique. Le mouvement
" que je signale est Européen, et c'est son étendue qui
" atteste sa profondeur. En Angleterre, les ouvrages
" du docteur John Lingard et de Cobbett ont préludé à
" la réaction catholique qui s'opère dans ce pays et
" excite si violemment la rage des torys. Je ne vou-
" drais pas m'en rapporter à mon propre jugement sur
" un sujet où il est si facile de prendre ses désirs et
" ses espérances pour des réalités, si je n'avais le té-
" moignage même d'un savant Anglais, M. le docteur
" Wiseman, qui a prêché à Londres, il y a deux ans, des
" conférences catholiques dont le succès n'a été égalé
" que par celles de M. l'abbé Lacordaire à Paris. M.
" Wiseman, recteur du collège des Anglais à Rome, a
" lu cette année, à l'académie catholique de cette ville,
" une longue et curieuse dissertation sur *l'Etat actuel du*
" *Protestantisme en Angleterre.* Les faits nombreux cités
" dans ce travail nous montrent chez les esprits les plus
" éclairés de la Grande-Bretagne, non seulement l'aban-
" don des préjugés les plus invéterés contre le catholi-
" cisme, contre la cour Romaine, mais un retour décidé
" vers les doctrines de l'Église. C'est surtout au sein de
" la célèbre université d'Oxford que se manifestent ces
" symptômes de réaction, et M. Wiseman cite pour
" preuve un recueil de dissertations publié par les pro-
" fesseurs de cette université, sous le titre de *Traités*
" *pour les temps présens.*"—*Introduction par M. Alexandre de Saint-Chéron, à l'Histoire de la Papauté par M. Léopold Ranke.* p. 15, 16. Paris 1838.

" L'université d'Oxford est célèbre par le savoir de " ceux qui la composent, par leur attachement à l'église " Anglicane, et par leur zèle pour son ancienne doctrine. " Ils ont consigné leurs opinions dans une suite de dis- " sertations intitulées *Traités pour les temps présens*, dont " ils viennent de publier le troisième tome. Il est cu- " rieux d'observer les aveux qu'ils rendent à la vérité.". . ..... " Il ne faut pas s'éton- " ner que ces dissertations aient été dénoncées par beau- " coup de protestans comme prouvant une défection " totale des doctrines de la réforme, et un rapproche- " ment trop manifeste de la croyance catholique."— *L'Ami de la Religion, Samedi*, 13 *Janvier*, 1838.

Note B. p. 17.

" He (Tertullian) thus at last timidly, or rather reve- " rently, advances to set forth God's last provision " against the malice of Satan, repentance after Baptism. " ' God providing against these his poisons, though the " door of *full oblivion* (ignoscentiæ) is closed, and the " bolt of Baptism fastened up, alloweth *somewhat* still to " be open.....Full confession (exomologesis) is the " discipline of prostrating and humbling the whole man; " enjoining a conversation which may excite pity; it " enacts as to the very dress and sustenance—to lie on " sackcloth and ashes: the body defiled, the mind cast " down with grief: those things, in which he sinned, " changed by a mournful treatment: for food and drink, " bread only and water, for the sake of life, not of the " belly: for the most part to nourish prayer by fasting: " to groan; to weep; to moan day and night before the " Lord their God; to embrace the knees of the Presby- " ters and of the friends of God; to enjoin all the bre- " thren to pray for them. All this is contained in ' full " confession,' with the view to recommend their repent- " ance; to honour the Lord by trembling at their peril; " by pronouncing on the sinner, to discharge the office

" of the indignation of God; and *by temporal affliction,*—
" I say not to baffle, but—*to blot out eternal torment.*
" When therefore it rolls them on the earth, it the ra-
" ther raises them: when it defiles, it cleanses them:
" accusing, it excuses them: condemning, it absolves
" them. In as far as thou sparest not thyself, in so far
" will God, be assured, spare thee.'

" It is not of course the outward instances and ex-
" pressions of grief, of which Tertullian speaks, which
" one would contrast with our modern practice; al-
" though most sincere penitents will probably have found
" it a great hinderance to effectual repentance, that they
" were obliged to bear about the load of their grief in
" their own bosoms; that they might not outwardly
" mourn; that they must go through the daily routine
" of life without unburdening their souls by a public
" confession; that they could not, without the evils of
" private confession, obtain the prayers of God's ser-
" vants; that their outward, must needs be at variance
" with, thwarting, contradicting their inward, life."—
Tracts for the Times, vol. II. No. 67. p. 60, 61.

" 'Since,' says St. Hermas, 'God knew the thoughts
" of the heart, and the weakness of man, and the mani-
" fold wickedness of the Devil, whereby he devises mis-
" chief against the servants of God—therefore the mer-
" ciful Lord had mercy on the work of his hands; and
" he assigned that repentance, and gave me power over
" that repentance. And, therefore, I say unto you, that,
" after that great and holy calling, (Baptism,) if any be
" tempted by the Devil and sin, he has *one* repentance.
" But if he sin again, and repent, it will not profit the
" man who doth such things, for hardly will he live to
" God.'..... This passage of St. Hermas is the
" more remarkable, since he lays down the principle,
" upon which more than one repentance after Baptism
" would probably be very rare, if not altogether hope-
" less, coinciding with the *known teaching* of the Apostles,

" and with subsequent experience, although *limiting* very " awfully what their *written teaching* has left undefined." ....." ' As there is *one* Baptism,' says St. Am- " brose, ' so also *one* repentance—one, I say, public re- " pentance—for we ought to repent of our daily sins; " but this repentance is for lighter offences, that for " heavier.....*The world must be renounced.* Sleep " itself must be less indulged than nature requires, must " be interrupted with groans, must be sequestrated for " prayer. *We must live so as to die to this life.* Man " must deny himself, and be wholly changed.' " *Ibid.* p. 67, 68, 69.

NOTE C. page 22.

" So then, none of the Protestant Churches doubt of " the *real* (that is, true and not imaginary) presence of " Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament; and there " appears no reason why any man should suspect their " common confession, of either fraud or error, as though " in this particular they had in the least departed from " the Catholic faith.".....

" As for the opinion and belief of the German Pro- " testants, it will be known chiefly by the Augustan Con- " fession, presented to Charles the Fifth by the Princes " of the Empire, and other great persons. For they " teach.....' that the Body and Blood of Christ " are truly present, and distributed to the Communi- " cants in the Lord's Supper.' .....

" The Confession of Wittemberg, which in the year " 1552 was propounded to the Council of Trent, is like " unto this: for it teacheth that ' the true Body and " Blood of Christ are given in the Holy Communion;' " and refutes those that say, ' that the Bread and Wine " in the Sacrament are only signs of the absent Body " and Blood of Christ.'..... .....

" Bucerus, in the name of all the rest, (the divines " of Basil and Strasbourg,) did freely answer..... " ' that the true Body and Blood of Christ was truly

" presented, given, and received *together with* the visible " signs of Bread and Wine'.....and did also main- " tain this doctrine of the blessed Sacrament in pre- " sence of the Landgrave of Hesse and Melancthon, con- " fessing 'that *together with* the Sacrament we truly and " substantially receive the Body of Christ.'..... .....

" 'The Son of God (says Calvin) offers daily to us in " the Holy Sacrament the same body which he once " offered in sacrifice to his Father, that it may be our " spiritual food.' ..... He asserts as clearly as any " one can, the true, *real*, and substantial presence and " communication of the Body of Christ, &c." *Tracts for the Times*, vol. I. No. 27. p. 3–9. (viz. *Bp. Cosin's History of Transubstantiation.*)

....." Berengarius was commanded presently with- " out any delay to recant in that form prescribed..... " by Cardinal Humbert; which was thus: 'I Berengarius, " &c., assent to the Holy Roman and Apostolic See, and " with my heart and mouth do profess that I hold that " faith concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Table, " which our Lord and venerable Pope Nicholas, and this " sacred Council, have determined and imposed upon " me by their evangelic and apostolic authority; to wit, " that the Bread and Wine which are set on the altar, " are not after the consecration only a sacrament, sign, " and figure, but also the very Body and Blood of our " Lord Jesus Christ;' (*thus far it is well enough*, but what " follows is too horrid, and is *disowned by the Papists* " *themselves*;) 'and that they' (the Body and Blood) 'are " touched and broken with the hands of the Priests, and " ground with the teeth of the faithful, not sacrament- " ally only, but in truth and sensibly.'" *Ibid.* No. 28. (viz. *Bp. Cosin continued.*)

It will be difficult to imagine that those who adopt the views of Bishop Cosin fall much, if at all, short of what has been commonly termed *Consubstantiation.* And be it observed, that the more reasonable of the Papists

practically recede from the grossness of strict *Transubstantiation.* For (as Mr. Perceval remarks) " the defi-
" nitions of the Council of Trent will upon examination
" be found to be so vague, so inconsistent, so self-con-
" tradictory, as to afford latitude for almost any expla-
" nation; and in point of practice, the most different
" opinions upon the point have been broached and openly
" maintained by different individuals in the Roman Com-
" munion. Thus while Harding the Jesuit contends
" that Christ was *twice immolated;* has *twice* shed his
" blood, once in the Eucharist, and once on the cross;
" and that the sacrifice of the Eucharist is a *reiteration* of
" that upon the cross;—while Le Quien maintains that
" the sacrifice of the Eucharist is a real sacrifice, and a
" *continuation* of that upon the cross; Cardinal Perron
" declares that the Christian sacrifice is a *figure or pat-*
" *tern* (figure ou exemplaire) of that upon the cross;
" Cassander, that Christ is there offered by *mystical re-*
" *presentation and commemoration.*" *The Roman Schism illustrated, by the Hon. and Rev. A. P. Perceval,* p. 338.

Note D. p. 22.

" It is observable that the doctrine of the Fathers
" with regard to *Consecration* was much the same in
" relation to the waters of Baptism, as in relation to the
" elements in the Eucharist. They supposed a kind of
" descent of the *Holy Ghost*, to *sanctify* the waters in
" one, and the symbols in the other, to the uses intended;
" and they seem to have gone upon the general Scrip-
" tural principle, (besides particular texts relating to
" each Sacrament,) that the Holy Ghost is the immediate
" fountain of all Sanctification. I believe they were right
" in the main thing, only not always accurate in expres-
" sion. Had they said that the *Holy Ghost* came upon
" the *recipients*, in the *due use* of the Sacraments, they
" had spoken with greater exactness; and, perhaps, it
" was all that they really meant. They could not be
" aware of the disputes which might arise in after-

" times, nor think themselves obliged to a philosophical " strictness of expression. It was all one for them to " say, in a confuse general way, either that the Holy " Ghost *sanctified the Receivers in the use of the outward* " *symbols*, or that he *sanctified the symbols to their use;* for " either expression seemed to amount to the same thing, " though in strictness there is a considerable difference " between them. What Mr. Hooker very judiciously " says of the *real presence* of Christ in the Sacrament, " appears to be equally applicable to the *presence* of the " *Holy Spirit* in the same;"—" *It is not to be sought for* " *in the Sacrament, but in the worthy Receiver of the* " *Sacrament.*" *Waterland on the Eucharist*, p. 126, 127. edit. 1737.

We need not therefore be surprised to find that those who hold the doctrine of the *real presence*, without regard to this essential distinction, become dissatisfied with the service of our Church, and betray an *approximation, at least*, to the superstitious views of Popery.—Thus:

" I am more and more indignant at the Protestant " doctrine on the subject of the Eucharist, and think " that the principle on which it is founded is as proud, " irreverent, and foolish, as that of any heresy, even " Socinianism." *Froude's Remains*, vol. I. p. 391.

" By the bye, vide Bull's Works, vol. II. p. 225. 'we " are not ignorant that the ancient Fathers generally " teach that the bread and wine in the Eucharist, by or " upon the consecration of them, do become and *are* " *made* the Body and Blood of Christ.'" *Froude's Remains*, vol. I. p. 363.

NOTE E. p. 25.

" Rome, stung by this rejection (viz. by our Thirty-" Nine Articles) of doctrines in which the credit of her " existing authorities was involved, adopted the bold—" the unprecedented—step of formally incorporating " these doctrines so completely with her religion, as to

" make the reception of them a necessary condition for " participation in her communion. And this step it is " which virtually separates us from that communion at " the present hour. We commonly think and speak of " our Reformers, as though they had separated them- " selves from the Church of Rome, and put her to the " ban. But such is not the fact; for aught that they " have done, we could communicate with her *now*;— " but we know, that should we attempt to do so, she " would put forth this *list of novel dogmas of faith*, and " call upon us either to subscribe it, or to depart from " her altars." *British Critic, for July* 1836. p. 52.

" By incorporating, at Trent, her prevalent errors into " the essence of her faith, Rome underwent, at that im- " portant crisis, an absolute change of position." ..... " In such a position the Papacy has, as far as its own " internal character has been concerned, from that period " remained. Nor of that position, would we—durst we— " become the apologists. Our quarrel with it, as it *now* " is, is as deep as can be that of the most fiery champion " among the ranks of protestantism." *Ibid.* p. 82.

Note F. p. 28.

If the Roman Church be really that predicted Apostasy, which the most approved interpreters of Prophecy unanimously maintain, we may rest assured, that every encouragement afforded to a system thus offensive in the sight of Heaven, whether by the grant of political influence, or by any general disposition to relapse into her errors, or even to relax from that strenuous resistance to her power and principles, which was established at the Reformation, is a national *sin*, for which the severest national chastisement may be reasonably anticipated. This was precisely the view taken by the late excellent Bishop Van Mildert, when, in his place in the House of Lords, he joined in the ineffectual opposition to what was called " Catholic emancipation."

"Convinced, too," said he, "as I am, (and that upon "no light or superficial grounds, but after many years of "studious consideration and inquiry,) that the religion "of Popery is distinctly and awfully pointed out in "Scripture, as the one great apostasy from the truth, "the declared object of Divine displeasure, I feel that "I should not be discharging the duty I owe to a "far higher tribunal than your Lordships', if I as-"sented to any thing which I believed to have a ten-"dency to strengthen or uphold such a corrupt and "erroneous system. . . . . I dare not be instrumental "in uniting Popery with Protestantism, nor in destroy-"ing or weakening the distinction between idolatrous "superstition, and the pure worship of God in spirit and "in truth." *Memoir of Bishop Van Mildert, prefixed to his Sermons and Charges*, p. 103.

Note G. p. 34.

The growing disposition to advocate, as far as may be, the cause of Popery, to excuse her errors, to admire, and even in some points to adopt, her principles and practice, is seen in numerous instances. A few specimens are the following:—

"Those who have not leisure or inclination to investi-"gate the subject, find it convenient to view the doctrines "of Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Image-worship, and "the like, as though incorporated with each other, and "with the Papal dominion in an essential unity . . . . . "Whereas the fact is, that for the origin of most of "these abuses the Pontiffs are not in any degree re-"sponsible." *British Critic for July* 1836. p. 73.

"Although the details of the early ritual varied in "importance, and corrupt additions were made in the "middle ages, yet as a whole the Catholic ritual was a "precious possession; and if we who have escaped from "Popery, have lost not only the possession, but the

" sense of its value, it is a serious question whether we " are not like men who recover from some grievous " illness with the loss or injury of their sight or hear- " ing ;—whether we are not like the Jews returned from " captivity, who could never find the Rod of Aaron or " the Ark of the Covenant." *Tracts for the Times*, vol. I. No. 34.

We have afterwards specimens of services from the Roman Breviary, and even *a design for a service for March* 21st, *the day of Bishop Ken's death*, as though he were selected as a candidate for a place in the Romish Calendar. The addresses to the Virgin are explained to be in general comparatively modern; but for one or two confessedly ancient we find this singular defence.— " As to the Confession at Prime and Compline, in which " is introduced the name of the blessed Virgin and " other Saints, this practice stands on a different ground. " It is not a simple gratuitous Invocation made to them, " but it is an address to Almighty God *in his Heavenly* " *Court*, as surrounded by his Saints and Angels, an- " swering to St. Paul's charge to Timothy, 'before God " and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect Angels,' and " to Daniel and St. John's address to the Angels who " were sent to them. The same may even be said of the " Invocation 'Holy Mary and all Saints, &c.' in the " Prime Service, which Gavanti describes as being of " very great antiquity." The Confession however stands thus:

" I confess before God Almighty, before the blessed " Mary, Ever-Virgin, the blessed Michael Archangel, " the blessed John Baptist, the Holy Apostles Peter " and Paul, before All Saints, and you, my brethren, " that I have sinned, &c. &c. Therefore, *I beseech thee*, " blessed Mary, Ever-Virgin, the blessed Michael Arch- " angel, &c. &c. *to pray the Lord our God for me*." *Tracts for the Times*, vol. III. No. 75. p. 10 and 61.

"Why is the opinion of the English Clergy, since the "enactment of the Prayer Book, entitled to be called "the teaching of the Church, more than that of the "Clergy of the sixteen previous centuries? or, again, "than the Clergy of France, Italy, Spain, Russia, &c. &c.? "I can see no other claim which the Prayer Book has "on a layman's deference, as the teaching of the Church, "which the Breviary and Missal have not in a far greater "degree."—*Froude's Remains*, vol. I. p. 402.

"I am sure the Daily Service is a great point; so is "kneeling with your back to the people, which, by the "bye, seems to be striking all apostolicals at once: I "see there are letters on it in the British Magazine."—*Ibid.* p. 390.

"You will be shocked at my avowal that I am every "day becoming a less and less loyal son of the Reform-"ation. It appears to me plain that in all matters that "seem to us indifferent, or even doubtful, we should "*conform our practices* to those of the Church which has "preserved its *traditionary* practices unbroken. We "cannot know about any seemingly indifferent practice "of the Church of Rome, that it is not a developement "of the apostolic ἦθος; and it is to no purpose to say "that we can find no proof of it in the writings of the "six first centuries; they must find a *dis*-proof, if they "would do any thing." *Ibid.* p. 336.

"I forgot to say that —— has derived great relief "from the distinction between *catholic verities* and *theo-"logical opinions*, as affecting the case of us with the "evangelicals, and thinks we can fraternize with them "without liberalism. Also he admits that, if the Roman "Catholics would revoke their anathemas, *we might "reckon all the points of difference as theological opinions. "This* τόπος *is a good one.*" *Ibid.* p. 329.

"I see Hammond takes that view of the *infallibility* "of the Church, which P. says was the old one. *We*

" *must revive it.* Surely the promise, ' I am with you " always,' means something." *Ibid.* p. 322.

" It has lately come into my head, that the present " state of things in England makes an opening for re- " viving the *monastic system.* I think of putting the " view forward under the title of ' Project for reviving " Religion in great Towns.' " *Ibid.*

" I touched just now on the subject of the Religious " Institutions of the middle ages. These are impera- " tively called for to stop the progress of dissent : indeed, " I conceive you necessarily must have dissent or *mo-* " *nachism* in a Christian Country ; so make your choice. " ..... Heathens and quasi heathens (such as the " miserable rabble of a large town) were not converted " in the beginning of the gospel, or now, as it would " appear, by the sight of domestic virtues or domestic " comforts in a missionary." *British Magazine for April* 1836. p. 366—368.

" Since they (the early Church) knew not of our chill " separation between those *who being dead* in Christ, live " to Christ and with Christ, and those *who are yet in the* " *flesh*, they felt assured that this sacrifice offered by the " Church on earth, for the whole Church, conveyed to " that portion of the Church, which *had passed into the* " *unseen world*, *such benefits* of Christ's death as (their " conflicts over and they at rest) were still applicable to " them,.....Why should we take upon ourselves to " say that they who are His members as well as we, " have no interest in this, which is offered as a memo- " rial for all ? or why should men think it an unhappi- " ness or imperfection that they should *obtain additional* " *joys aud satisfactions thereby ?—Tracts for the Times*, vol. IV. No. 81. p. 6, 7.

" The receiving of which Sacrament or participating " of which Sacrifice exhibited to us, we say is profitable " only to them that receive it and participate of it ; but " the *prayers* that we add thereunto, in presenting the

"death and merits of our Saviour to God, are not only "beneficial to them that are present, but to them that "are absent also, *to the dead and the living both*, to all "true members of the Catholic Church of Christ." (Extract from Bishop Cosin.)—*Ibid.* p. 136.

There appears a reluctance to admit *fully* the *Idolatry* of the Church of Rome. Thus:—

"I think people are injudicious who talk against the "Roman Catholics for worshipping Saints and honour-"ing the Virgin and images, &c.;—these things *may* "*perhaps be idolatrous*—I cannot make up my mind "about it." *Froude's Remains*, vol. I. p. 294.

"The direct invocation of saints is a *dangerous* prac-"tice, as *tending to give*, often actually giving, to crea-"tures the honour and reliance due to the Creator alone." *Tracts for the Times*, vol. I. No. 38. p. 12.

NOTE H. page 36.

..... "I am not speaking of those who would ad-"mit they were Puritans; but of that *arrogant Pro-"testant spirit* (so called) of the day, in and out of the "Church, (if it is possible to say what is in and what is "out,) which thinks it takes bold and large views, and "would fain ride over the superstitions and formalities, "which it thinks it sees in those who (I maintain) hold "to the old Catholic faith." *Tracts for the Times*, vol. I. No. 41. p. 12.

"The wiseacres are all agog about our being Papists. "P. called us 'the Papal Protestant Church;'—in which "he proved a double ignorance, as we are Catholics with-"out the Popery, and Church-of-England men *without* "*the Protestantism*." *Froude's Remains*, vol. I. p. 404.

"I do believe that he (R——) hates the *meagreness of* "*Protestantism* as much as either of us." *Ibid.* p. 425.

This perpetual attempt to cry down and depreciate the principles of Protestantism, and to connect its very name with all that is odious and disreputable, cannot be

too strongly reprobated. Popery having once more become the assailant, *Protestantism* is the very *bond of union* for our Church and nation, the *watchword* for our defence; and the dissemination of such religious views, as those which I have endeavoured to expose, has become doubly dangerous.

Unaccountable is the indiscretion, and heavy the responsibility of those, who have sent forth the offensive publication, from which the most startling and extravagant of my extracts have been taken. With many persons indeed its very extravagance will be a sufficient antidote to the poison which it contains. But who shall answer for its effect on the public mind in these days of unsettled principles and religious disunion, should it, by some unhappy chance, obtain extensive circulation?

If any considerable party have concurred with the editors in the hearty approval of its sentiments and views, then is there a far more formidable *conspiracy*[a] against our principles and our welfare, than most of us have hitherto dreamed of. If, on the other hand, the editors themselves (as is partially intimated[b]) do not wholly coincide in every opinion which it expresses, who is to separate the *tares* from the *wheat?* It becomes a wanton *experiment* on popular weakness and credulity—a wilful *tampering* with the faith and happiness of thousands.

a "R. thinks biography the best means of infusing principles against "the reader's will." *Froude's Remains*, vol. I. p. 321.

b Preface, p. xxii.

Henry H Bastard.
1839.

A LETTER

TO THE

REV. GODFREY FAUSSETT, D.D.

MARGARET PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY,

ON

CERTAIN POINTS

OF

FAITH AND PRACTICE.

BY THE

REV. J. H. NEWMAN, B.D.

FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE.

SECOND EDITION.

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1838.

BAXTER, PRINTER, OXFORD.

A LETTER,

&c.

Rev. Sir,

I make no apology for troubling you with this Letter, for I cannot conceal from myself that I am one of those against whom your recent Publication is directed. My first impulse indeed, when I heard of the probability of its appearance, was to resolve not to answer it, and to recommend the same course to others. I have changed my mind at the suggestion of friends, who, I feel, have taken a sounder view of the matter; but my original feeling was, that we have differences and quarrels enough all around us, without adding to them. Sure I am, that the more stir is made about those opinions which you censure, the wider they will spread. This has been proved abundantly in the course of the last few years. Whatever be the mistakes and faults of their advocates, they have that root of truth in them which, as I do firmly believe, has a blessing with it. I do not pretend to say they will ever become popular with the many, that is another matter;—nor do I say they will ever

gain that powerful external influence over the many, which truth vested in the Few, cherished, throned, energizing in the Few, often has possessed;—nor that they are not destined, as truth has often been destined, to be cast away and at length trodden under foot as an odious thing;—but of this I am sure, that at this juncture in proportion as they are known, they will make their way through the community, picking out their own, seeking and obtaining refuge in the hearts of Christians, high and low, here and there, with this man and that, as the case may be; doing their work in their day, as raising a witness to this fallen generation of what once has been, of what God would ever have, of what one day shall be in perfection; and that, not from what they are in themselves, because viewed in the concrete they are mingled, as every thing human must be, with error and infirmity, but by reason of the spirit, the truth, the old Catholic life and power which is in them.

And, moreover, while that inward principle of truth will carry on their tide of success to those bounds wider or straiter, which, in God's inscrutable providence, they are to reach and not to pass, it is also a substitute for those artificial and sectarian bounds of co-operation between man and man, which constitute what is commonly called a party. I notice this, because though you do not apply the word *party* to their upholders, you do speak of an existing "combination," "an indefinite and appa-

rently numerous body of friends," nay you hint at a "formidable conspiracy;" words which mean more than that unity of action which unity of sentiments produces. Men who think deeply and strongly, will act upon their principles; and if they think alike, will act alike; and lookers on, seeing the acts, and not seeing the principles, impute that to concert which proceeds from unanimity. So much I would grant in the present case, and no more; unless the contingence of two persons thinking alike and acting on their thoughts be party spirit, the appearance of party may easily exist in cases where there is not the reality. Like actions inevitably follow; but their doers are not party men, till their own personal success becomes prior in their thoughts to that of their object.

Such is the position in which the opinions and persons stand, which you so heavily censure. And whatever be the consequence to those persons, I see nothing but advantage resulting to those opinions from such publicity and discussion as you are drawing upon them. As far as they are concerned, I should have no anxiety about addressing you; but a feeling of the miserable breach of peace and love which too commonly follows on such controversies, to say nothing of one's own private convenience, is enough to make any one pause before he engages in such a discussion. I cannot doubt such is your feeling also, and therefore I deeply regret that a sense of imperative duty should

have obliged you to commence it. No one of course can deny that there may be cases when it is a duty to hazard such a result; the claims of truth must not be compromised for the sake of peace. Nor has any one cause to complain of those who, from a religious regard to purity of doctrine, denounce what he admires. But this I think may fairly be required of all persons, that they go not so far as to denounce in another what they do not at the same time shew to be inconsistent with the doctrines of our Church. Now this is the first thought which rises in my mind on the perusal of your pamphlet. I do not find in it any proof (I do not say of the erroneousness of the opinions and practices you condemn, but) even of their *contrariety to our Church's doctrines*[a]. This seems to me an omission. You speak of an "increas-

[a] Dr. Faussett, in the Preface to the Second Edition of his Pamphlet, says, that this Letter "should seem to have been *written without* any complete perusal of it, including of course the Notes and Appendix." p. iv. It seems then what it is not. He adds, "Hence I presume it is, that I am supposed to make assertions without proof." I certainly do not yet see that Dr. F. *proves* that the persons he censures "*overvalue* tradition," are "*unscriptural*," or that they contravene our Articles and Prayer Book. This last point especially is what I ask proof of; instead of which Dr. F. asks why *I* do not appeal to *Scripture*, as if it were not enough for my purpose with a fellow-Churchman and an opponent, to appeal to the formularies of our Church. Were he not a Churchman, or were I teaching him instead of defending myself, I should appeal to Scripture; but as Churchmen we are bound to agreement on some points, with the permission of differences on others.

ing *aberration* from Protestant principles," " a disposition to *overvalue* the importance of Apostolical tradition;" " *exaggeratèd* and *unscriptural* statements," a " *tendency* to depreciate the principles of Protestantism," and to " palliate" the " errors of Popery," " gradual and near *approximation* towards" the " Roman superstitions" concerning " the Lord's Supper." Now this is all assertion, not proof; and no one person, not even a Bishop, may at his mere word determine what doctrine shall be received and what not. He is bound to appeal to the established faith. He is bound *conscientiously* to try opinions by the established faith, and in doing so he appeals to an Unseen Power. He is bound to *state* in what respect they differ from it, if they differ; and in so doing he appeals to his brethren. The decision, indeed, is in his own hands; he acts on his own responsibility; but before he acts he makes a solemn appeal before God and man. What is true of the highest authority in the Church, is true of others. We all have our private views; many persons have the same private views; but if ten thousand have the same, that does not make them less private; they are private, till the Church's judgment makes them public. I am not entering into the question what is the Church, and what the difference between the whole Church and parts of the Church, or what are, what are not, subjects for Church decisions; I only say, looking at the English Church at this moment

and practically, that if there be two parties in it, the one denouncing, the other denounced, in a matter of doctrine, either the latter is promoting heresy, or the former is promoting schism. I do not see that there is any medium; and it does seem incumbent on the former to shew he is not infringing peace, by shewing that the latter is infringing truth.

There is a floating body of opinions in every Church, which varies with the age. They are held in one age, abandoned in the next. They are distinct from the Church's own doctrines; they may be held or abandoned, not without criticism indeed, because every man has a right to have his opinion about another's thoughts and deeds, and to tell him of it, but without denunciation. The English Church once considered persecution to be a duty; I am not here called on to give any opinion on the question; but certainly the affirmative side of it was not *binding* on every one of her members. The body of the English Church has for three centuries past called the Lord's Table an Altar, though the word is not in our formularies [b]: I think a man wrong who says it is not an Altar, but I will not denounce him; I will not write in a hostile tone against any person or any work which does not, as I think, contradict the Articles or Prayer Book. And in like manner, there has ever been in our Church, and is

[b] Except indeed, as it would appear, the Coronation Service.

allowed by our formularies, a very great latitude as regards the light in which the Church of Rome is to be viewed. Why must this right of private judgment be infringed? Why must those who exercise that right be spoken of in terms only applicable to heretical works, and which might with just as much and just as little propriety be retorted upon the quarter they came from? Mr. Froude's volumes are called an "*offensive* publication;" is this a term to be applied to writings which differ from us in essentials or non-essentials? they are spoken of not only as containing "startling and extravagant" passages, but "poison." What words do you reserve for heresy, for plain denials of the Creed, for statements counter to the Articles, for preachings and practices in disobedience to the Prayer Book? If at any time the danger from Romanism was imminent, it was at the time when the Articles were drawn up; what right has any one of his own private authority to know better than their compilers, and to act as if those Articles were more stringent in their protest against it than they are? If the Church of the nineteenth century outruns the sixteenth in her condemnation of its errors, let her mould her formularies accordingly. When she has so done, she has a claim on her members to submit; but till then, she has a claim on them to respect that liberty of thought which she has allowed, nor to denounce without stating the formal grounds of their denunciation.

I am speaking, on the one hand, of a public severe deliberate condemnation; and on the other of the omission of the grounds on which it is made. If grounds can be produced, of course I do not object; and in such case I leave it for those to decide, whether they be tenable, with whom the decision lies. Nor on the other hand can any fair objection be made to friendly expostulation, nay or to public remonstrance, even without grounds stated, if put forward as resting on the personal authority of the individual making it. Men of wisdom need not for ever be stating their grounds for what they say: but then they speak not *ex cathedrâ*, but as if "giving *their* judgment, as those that have been faithful;" as "Paul the aged." The private judgment of one man is not the same as that of another; it may, if it so be, weigh indefinitely more than another's; it may outweigh that of a number, however able, learned, and well-intentioned. But then he gives it *as* private judgment; he does not come forward to denounce. He is in one sense the law itself, and others, taking his sentence from his mouth, use it after him. And, again, to take the case of men in general, there will ever be difference of opinions among them about the truth, fairness, propriety, or expedience of things said and done by each other. They have full right, as I have already said, or are even under a duty to speak their mind, though they speak it with pain; and the parties spoken to must bear it, though they bear it with

pain. All this need not infringe the bond of charity on the one side or the other. But to denounce publicly yet without stating grounds is a different procedure.

And next, I am sorry, that, considering that you have used strong terms concerning Mr. Froude's volumes, you have not judged it right to state that they contain as strong expressions against Popery as your pamphlet contains against *them*. Nay, you might without much trouble have even cited these, especially as you cite so many others which seem to you to countenance Popery; but perhaps this was too much to expect. Yet at least you would not have lost time in finding them, for some of the principal are brought together in the Preface, which you have evidently read. These strong disclaimers in the work in question tell the more from the unsuspicious way in which the Author made them; in private letters to friends, and in casual conversation, when nothing called for them but the genuine feeling of their truth on his part. They shall find here the place which you have denied them.

Speaking of Italy and Sicily, he says, "These Catholic countries seem in an especial manner *κατέχειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ*. And the Priesthood are themselves so sensible of the hollow basis upon which their power rests, that they dare not resist the most atrocious encroachments of the State upon their privileges . . . . I have seen priests laughing when at the Confessional; and indeed it

is plain, that, unless they habitually made light of very gross immorality, three-fourths of the population [of Naples] would be excommunicated." vol. i. pp. 293, 4.

Such a protest against the practical working of the existing Roman system abroad, is not much like a recommendation of it at home. I am sure your readers cannot be prepared for it. All you tell them is, from your title, that there is a "Revival of Popery," and, from your remarks, that Mr. Froude's Volumes help it forward. To be sure, you do concede that the persons you speak of are not "*strictly* Papists;" and that it would be "as uncharitable as it is untrue," to say, "that *within certain limits of their own devising* they are not actually opposed to the corruptions and the communion of Rome." p. 24. May I ask, *whose* "devising" the "limits" are, which enable you to assign to these persons their exact place in the scale of theology? Certainly they are not those of the Church's creed; at least, you do not appeal to it. Such is the measure of consideration shewn them.

Again: "On a friend's saying that the Romanists were schismatics in England and Catholics abroad; No," he answered, "they are *wretched Tridentines* every where." vol. i. p. 434.

In another place he speaks of "the atrocious Council" of Trent; and adds, "I own it" (information concerning that Council) "has altogether

changed my notions of the Roman Catholics; and *made me wish for the total overthrow of their system.*" vol. i. pp. 307, 8.

Now from such passages I gather, that the Author did consider the existing system of Rome, since the Council of Trent, to be a most serious corruption, Nay, he adds himself, that he wishes for its "*total overthrow.*" This is not like giving a helping hand towards "the Revival of Popery." However, the sole impression conveyed to your mind, by the passage, is, not the *direct* one that the Roman system *has been* hopelessly corrupt *since* Trent, but, by an *inference*, that it was *not* hopelessly corrupt *before.* The latter point you enlarge upon; the former you let alone. Might I not put in a plea that you should not deduce *from* a premiss, without acknowledging that premiss *itself?*

But now, as to this question concerning the Council of Trent,—since the subject has been mentioned, and you will not require me to be very methodical in a Letter like this;—let us consider what it is Mr. Froude and others have said about it. Merely this, which is said by some of our most considerable Divines, as Dean Field, not that the Church of Rome was not corrupt before the Council of Trent, but that its corruptions before were for the most part *in* the Church, but not *of* it; they were floating opinions and practices, far and wide received, as the Protestant opinions in our Church may be at this day, but, like these in our own case,

they were not, as a body, taken into the Church, and made the system of the Church till that Council[c]. And this is what Mr. Froude means by his notions being "changed" about the Roman Catholics; he thought, till he was better informed, that the Church in Council might alter what the Church in Council had determined; but when he found that Romanists could not reduce to a matter of opinion what they had once exalted into a doctrine, that they could not unloose an anathema they had once tied, that, in his own words, "they were committed finally and irrevocably, and could not advance one step to meet us, even though the Church of England should again become what it was in Laud's time," then, while he called the Council "atrocious," he went on to "wish for the total overthrow" of the system, which is built upon it. How different is this from approving of every thing that took place in the Church before it! While bitterly mourning over the degradation and divisions of the Church Catholic, he is oppressed with the sudden sight of an apparently insuperable difficulty in the way of any future healing of her wounds, the great and formal act of the Roman Church at Trent, that points which had been before but matters of opinion, should be henceforth terms of communion. There was hope till this act; there were the means of reformation. In the words of one of the Tracts you

[c] Image worship had been sanctioned at the second Council of Nicæa; transubstantiation at the fourth Lateran.

refer to, " If she (Rome) has apostatized, it was at the time of the Council of Trent. Then, indeed, it is to be feared, the whole Roman Communion bound itself, by a perpetual bond and covenant, to the cause of Antichrist. But before that time, grievous as were the corruptions *in* the Church, no individual Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, was bound by oath to the maintenance of them. Extensively as they were spread, no clergyman was shackled by obligations which prevented his resisting them ; he could but suffer persecution for so doing. He did not commit himself in one breath to two vows, to serve faithfully in the Ministry, and yet to receive all the superstitions and impieties which human perverseness had introduced into the most gracious and holiest of God's gifts." vol. i. No. 15.

I confess I wish this passage were not cast in so declamatory a form ; but the substance of it expresses just what I mean. The Council of Trent did, as regards Roman errors, what, for all we know, (though God forbid !) some future synod of the English Church may do as regards Protestant errors,—take them into her system, make them terms of communion, bind upon her hitherto favoured sons their grievous chain ; and what that unhappy Council actually did for Rome, that does every one in his place and according to his power, who, by declaiming against and denouncing those who dare to treat the Protestant errors as unestablished, gives a helping hand towards their establishment.

I will quote two passages from very different persons in corroboration of what has been said, Dean Field and Bernard Gilpin. Dean Field says, that " none of those points of false doctrine and error which Romanists now maintain and we condemn were the doctrines of the Church *before the Reformation* constantly delivered, or generally received, by all them that were of it, but doubtfully broached, and devised without all certain resolution, or factiously defended by some certain only, who, *as a dangerous faction*, adulterated the sincerity of the Christian Verity, and brought the Church into miserable bondage." *Of the Church, Append. to b.* iii. Elsewhere he speaks as follows: —" There is therefore a great difference to be made, *between the Church wherein our Fathers formerly lived, and that faction* of the Pope's adherents, which at this day resist against the necessary reformation of the Churches of God, and make that their faith and religion, *which, in former times, was but the private and unresolved opinion of some certain only.* In former times a man might hold the general doctrine of those Churches wherein our Fathers lived, and be saved, though the assertions of *some* men were damnable. Now it is clean contrary touching the present state of the Romish Church. For the general and main doctrine, *agreed upon in the Council of Trent*, in such as it is most commonly conceived, is damnable: but there are, no doubt, some of a better spirit, and have in

themselves particularly a better conceit of things than is generally holden. *Formerly, the Church of Rome was the true Church, but had in it an heretical faction: now the Church itself is heretical, and some certain only are found in it*, in such degree of orthodoxy, as that we may well hope of their salvation." iii. 47.

Bernard Gilpin, whom I shall quote next, is the stronger evidence, inasmuch as he considered, what I certainly cannot, that the Pope was the Antichrist; yet he implies that he only became so at Trent. . . . "The Church of Rome kept the rule of faith entire, *until that rule was changed and altered by the Council of Trent;* and *from that time* it seemed to him a matter of necessity to come out of the Church of Rome, that so that Church which is true and called out from thence might follow the word of God[b]."

Nothing surely is more intelligible than being in a Church, and not approving of the acts of its rulers or of large bodies in it. At this day there are many things said and done among us which you would as little approve as myself; and are we answerable for them? and though we should be silent when great and grievous errors were put forth, though we allowed books to go out to the world as if with our sanction when they had it not, though we gave persons out of doors the impression

[b] Wordsworth, Eccles. Biogr. vol. iv. p. 94.

that we approved of them, though when controversy began we took no prominent share in it, though we sat still and let others bear the brunt and odium of it, ought we therefore to be *identified* with those errors whatever they are? Certainly not; though blameless in such a case we certainly should not be, nor without some sort of debt to them who worked for us. If Albigenses or Waldenses can be found who really did the office of witnesses in those strange times of mixed good and evil, let them have the praise of it; let the Church have the shame of it, for not doing the work herself and in a better way. But it is one thing to say the rulers of the Church were remiss or incapable; quite another that they agreed with their heterodox brethren, who acted instead of them, and usurped the Church's name, and abused her offices, and seemed to be more than they were. How then is it to the purpose to speak of "the systematic imposture of pretended miracles," "the portentous delusions of Purgatory and Transubstantiation," "the especial worship of the Virgin Mary," "the prohibition of Scripture," and "the establishment of the Inquisition," &c. as existing before Trent? Who defends such things as these? who says the Church of Rome was free from them before Trent? Are not the Tracts, which you refer to, full of protestations against them, protestations quite as strong as those contained in your pamphlet? Why are the Tracts to be censured for stating a plain historical fact, that

the Roman Church did not, till Trent, embody in her creed the mass of her present tenets, while they do not deny but expressly acknowledge her great corruptions before that era, while they give the history of Transubstantiation prior to Trent, (Nos. 27, 28.) of the Breviary worship of the Blessed Virgin prior to Trent, (No. 75.) of Purgatory prior to Trent, (No. 79.) while they formally draw up points in which they feel agreement with Romanists to be hopeless, (Nos. 38, 71.) and while they declare, (in large letters, to draw attention,) that, while Rome is what it is, "union" with it "is impossible?" (No. 20.) All that can be said against them is, that in discussing the Roman tenets, they use guarded language; and this I will say, that the more we have personal experience of the arduous controversy in question, the more shall we understand the absolute necessity, if we are to make any way, of weighing our words, and keeping from declamation.

You speak as if the opinions held in the works you censure were novel in our Church, and you connect them with the "*revival* of Popery." Does any one doubt that on all those points of *doctrine* on which a question can occur, there is a large school in our Church, consisting of her far most learned men, mainly agreeing in them? Does any one doubt that they are borne out in the main by Hooker, Andrews, Laud, Montague, Hammond, Bramhall, Taylor, Thorndike, Bull, Beveridge, Ken, and

Wilson, not to mention others? how many are there of the *doctrines* you object to, which one or other or all of these great pastors and teachers do not maintain? I will confine myself to Bramhall, who flourished in the seventeenth century, and after holding the see of Derry in the reign of Charles the First, and suffering in the great Rebellion, was made Archbishop of Armagh. And let it be observed, that in thus drawing out one or two of the opinions of this great man, I am not making myself or any one else responsible for them; I am but shewing how far divines may diverge from the views now popular, and yet be held in reverence both in their day and since.

1. Concerning the Real Presence he thus speaks: "So grossly is he mistaken on all sides, when he said that '*Protestants*' (*he should say the English Church if he would speak to the purpose*) 'have a positive belief that the Sacrament is not the Body of Christ;' which were to contradict the words of Christ, 'This is My Body.' He knows better that Protestants do not deny the *thing*, but their bold determination of the *manner* by Transubstantiation." *Works*, p. 226. "Abate us Transubstantiation, and those things which are consequent of their determination of the *manner* of Presence, and we have no difference with them [the Romanists] to this particular. They who are ordained Priests ought to have power to consecrate the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, that is, *to make Them present*

after such manner as they were present at the first institution, whether it be done by enunciation of the words of Christ, as it is observed in the Western Church, or by Prayer, as it is practised in the Eastern Church; or whether these two be both the same thing in effect, that is, that forms of the Sacraments be mystical prayers and implicit invocations." *Works*, p. 485. "Whether it be corporeally or spiritually, (I mean not only after the manner of a spirit, but in a spiritual sense,) whether it be in the soul only or in the Host also, whether by consubstantiation or transubstantiation, whether by production, or adduction, or conservation, or assumption, or by whatsoever other way bold and blind men here conjecture, we determine not." p. 21.

2. Concerning the sacrifice of the Mass. "If his Sacrifice of the Mass have any other propitiatory power or virtue in it *than* to commemorate, represent, and apply the merit of the Sacrifice of the Cross, let him speak plainly what it is. *Bellarmine knew no more of this Sacrifice* than we." p. 172. "We acknowledge an Eucharistical Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; a commendative Sacrifice, or a memorial of the Sacrifice of the Cross; a representative Sacrifice, or a representation of the Passion of Christ before the eyes of His heavenly Father; an impetrative Sacrifice, or an impetration of the fruit and benefit of His passion, by way of real prayer; and, lastly, an applicative Sacrifice, or an application of His merits unto our souls. Let him

that dare go one step farther than we do, and say that it is a suppletory Sacrifice to supply the defects of the Sacrifice of the Cross; or else let them hold their peace, and speak no more against us in this point of Sacrifice for ever." p. 255. "I have challenged them to go one step farther into it [the question of the Sacrifice of the Mass] than I do; and *they dare not*, or rather *they cannot*, without blasphemy." p. 418.

3. Concerning adoration *in* the Sacrament. "We ourselves adore Christ *in the Sacrament;* but we dare not adore the *species of Bread and Wine.*" p. 356.

4. Concerning Prayers for the Dead in Christ. "We condemn not all praying for the dead; not for their resurrection and the consummation of their happiness; but their prayers for their deliverance out of Purgatory." p. 356.

5. Concerning the Intercession of Saints. "For the 'intercession, prayers, merits of the Saints,' (taking the word 'merit' in the sense of the Primitive Church, that is, not for desert, but for acquisition,) I know no difference about them, among those men who understand themselves; but only about the last words, 'which they invocate in their Temples,' rather than Churches. A *comprecation* both the Grecians and we do allow; an *ultimate* invocation both the Grecians and we detest; so do the Church of Rome in their doctrine, but they vary from it in their practice." p. 418.

6. Concerning Monasteries. "So as Monasteries

were restrained in their number and in their revenues, so as the Monks were restrained from meddling between the Pastor and his flock, ... so as the abler sort, who are not taken up with higher studies and weightier employments, were inured to bestow their spare hours from their devotions in some profitable labour for the public good, that idleness might be stripped of the cloak of contemplative devotion, so as the vow of celibacy were reduced to the form of our English Universities, so long a fellow, so long unmarried . . . . so as their blind obedience were more enlightened and secured by some certain rules and bounds, so as their mock poverty . . . were changed into competent maintenance, and lastly so as all opinion of satisfaction and supererogation were removed, I do not see why Monasteries might not agree well enough with reformed devotion." p. 65.

7. Concerning the Pope. " He must either be meanly versed in the Primitive Fathers, or give little credit to them, who will deny the Pope to succeed St. Peter in the Roman Bishopric, or will envy him the dignity of a Patriarch within his just bounds." p. 299.

8. Concerning the relation of the English Church to Protestantism. " In setting forth the moderation of our English Reformers, I shewed that we do not arrogate to ourselves either a new Church, or a new religion, or new holy orders. Upon this he falls heavily two ways. First he saith, ' It is false,'

as he hath shewed by innumerable testimonies of *Protestants*. . . . For what I said, I produced the *authority of our Church*, he letteth that alone, and sticketh the falsehood upon my sleeve. It seemeth that he is not willing to engage against *the Church of England;* for still he declineth it, and *changeth* the subject of the question *from* the English Church to a *confused company of particular authors of different opinions*, of *dubious credit*, of *little knowledge* in our English affairs, tortured and wrested from their genuine sense." p. 225.

Certainly Bramhall was allowed more liberty of speech in matters of doctrine and opinion than is given to members of our Church now; yet his subscriptions were much the same as ours.

I have been led to this subject from certain passages of Mr. Froude's about the Council of Trent, which you have not quoted, merely used; and which you have made, not evidence (which it is) that he shrinks from the Church of Rome as being what it is, but a ground of complaint against him for not shrinking from it as having been what it was not. One other protest against Romanism of a different character is still to come; for I cannot find it in your publication.

He says, " Since I have been out here, I have got a worse notion of the Roman Catholics than I had. *I really do think them idolaters*, though I cannot be quite confident of my information as it affects the character of the priests....What I mean

by calling these people idolaters is, that I believe they look upon the Saints and Virgin as good-natured people, that will try to get them let off easier than the Bible declares; and that, as they don't intend to comply with the conditions on which God promises to answer prayers, they pray to them as a come-off." Pref. p. xiii.

Now since you are properly ample on the subject of Idolatry, I wish this passage had occurred to you, as shewing that, however much you found to censure in Mr. Froude's Volumes, he did concur in your view of Romanism in a point of no ordinary importance, however he arrived at it, viz. so far as "*really to think the Roman Catholics idolaters.*" And for a parallel reason I beg to offer my own avowal, which is pretty much the same. I would say then, that it is idolatry to bow down to any emblem or symbol as divine which God Himself has not appointed; and since He has not appointed the worship of images, such worship is idolatrous; though how far it is so, whether in itself or in given individuals, we may be unable to determine. So far, then, I am happy to follow you; however, you then pass on to another subject: "Will it then be credited," you say, "by any one not already cognizant of the fact, that the Crucifix, the effective engine, the notorious emblem of Romish superstition, is once more becoming, with some professed Protestants, an object, not indeed of worship,

—scarcely let us hope even of reverence, yet at least of religious interest." p. 30. Now that the Crucifix, *if* possessed, ought not to be treated with reverence, is a sentiment into which I cannot enter. We treat the pictures of our friends with reverence. Statues of illustrious persons we treat with reverence; and we feel indignation, if they are damaged or insulted. Who among us would think better of a man, who, as being above prejudice, used his Bible for a footstool? yet what is it but an English printed book? Again, would it not offend the run of religious men, to hear of persons making it a point to keep their hats on in church? yet what is a church but a building of brick or stone? Surely then it is impossible for any religious man, *having* a Crucifix, not to treat it with reverence; and perhaps there are very few religious people in the ordinary walks of life, such, I mean, as live by good principles and good feeling, without having their intellect specially exercised, who would not treat it with due respect. But, while I grant this, I more than doubt whether a Crucifix, carved to represent life as such memorials commonly are, be not too true to be reverent, and too distressing for familiar contemplation. I state this, however, as merely my own opinion; without knowing the opinion of others. So much I know, that the use of the Crucifix is in this place no badge of persons whose mode of thinking you

would condemn. How many Crucifixes could be counted up in Oxford, I know not[e]; but you will find them in the possession of those who are no special friends or followers of Mr. Froude, and perhaps cordial admirers, except of course on this one point, of the tenor of your publication.

A few words are now necessary on another subject; Mr. Froude's use of the word *Protestantism*, and his language concerning some of the Reformers. Your remarks here go to an incroachment on our liberty of thought and speech, such as I have before noticed. I will but ask by which of the Articles, by what part of the Prayer Book, is a member of our Church bound to acknowledge the Reformers, or to profess himself a Protestant? No where. To force him then to do so, when he fain would not, is narrowing our terms of communion; it is in fact committing the same error which we impute to the Romanists. The Church is not built upon, it is not bound up with, individuals. I do not see why Mr. Froude may not speak against Jewel, if he feels he has a reason, as strongly as many among us speak against Laud. Men are not de-

[e] Dr. Faussett says that I here "admit" the use of the Crucifix "to prevail to a certain extent." p. vi. I admit nothing, because I know nothing, nor even suspected any thing before he preached his Sermon. I verily believe he knows much more about it than I do. *Since* his Sermon was preached some instances have been mentioned to me, but I know or have heard of the names of only four persons altogether; one of the four I have forgotten, and another I cannot be sure I heard.

nounced from high places for calling Laud a bigot or a tyrant, why then should not equally strong terms be used against Jewel? One may dislike to hear Laud abused, and feel no drawings towards his abusers; yet may suffer it as a matter in which we must bear differences of opinion however "offensive." This is the very distinction between our Church and (for instance) the Lutherans; that they *are* Lutherans, but we are not Cranmerites, nor Jewelists, but Catholics, members not of a sect or party, but of the Catholic and Apostolic Church. And while the name of Luther became the title, his dogmata, as is well known, were made the rule of faith of his followers; his phrases were noted, almost his very words were got by rote. He was, strictly speaking, the *Master* of his School. Where has the English Church any such head? Whom does she acknowledge but Christ and His Apostles, and as their witness the consent of Fathers? What title has she, but as an old Father speaks, "Christian for her name and Catholic for her surname?" If there is one thing more than another which tends to make us a party, it is the setting up the names of men as our symbols and watchwords. Those who most deeply love them, will not magisterially bring them forward, and whatever they do, will not denounce those who censure them.

At the same time if such expressions concerning Jewel and others, as occur in the Volumes under consideration, have been painful to any minds, I

wish to express my own deep concern at it. With the prospect of such a contingency, nothing but a plain sense of duty could justify their publication; and it may be a duty, when a conviction exists that the names of such eminent men are fairly connected with, and go to support, serious religious errors. The least said here on such a subject, the better; let it only be recollected, that what is said about Jewel, is supported by passages quoted from his Works. Shall we defend such passages, or deny his trustworthiness?

And in like manner, if persons, aware that names are things, conscientiously think that the name of Protestantism is productive of serious mischief,—if it be the property of heresy and schism as much as of orthodoxy,—if it be but a negative word, such as almost forces on its professors the idea of a vague indefinite creed, makes them turn their thoughts to how much they may doubt, deny, ridicule, or resist, rather than what they believe,—if the religion it generates mainly consists in a mere attack upon Rome, and tends to be a mere instrument of state purposes,—if it tends to swallow up devotion in worldliness, and the Church in the executive,—if it damps, discourages, stifles that ancient Catholic system, which, if true in the beginning, is true at all times,—and if on the other hand there be nothing in our formularies obliging us to profess it,—and if external circumstances have so changed, that what it was inexpedient or impossible to do formerly, is

both possible and most expedient now,—these considerations, I conceive, may form a reason for abandoning the word. But here it will be sufficient to keep to the question of our *obligation* to profess it, and with this view I quote the following passage from one of the "Tracts for the Times."

"The English Church," it says, "as such, is *not* Protestant, only politically; that is, externally or so far as it has been made an establishment, and subjected to national and foreign influences. It claims to be merely *Reformed*, not Protestant, and it repudiates any fellowship with the mixed multitude which crowd together, whether at home or abroad, under a mere political banner. That this is no novel doctrine, is plain from the emphatic omission of the word Protestant in all our Services, even in that for the fifth of November, as remodelled in the reign of King William; and again, from the protest of the Lower House of Convocation at that date, on this very subject, which would have had no force, except as proceeding upon recognized usages. The circumstance here alluded to was as follows. In 1689 the Upper House of Convocation agreed on an address to King William, to thank him 'for the grace and goodness expressed in his message, and the zeal shewn in it for the *Protestant Religion in general*, and the Church of England in particular.' To this phrase the Lower House objected, as importing, as Birch in his life of Tillotson says, '*their owning common union with*

the foreign Protestants.' A conference between the two Houses ensued, when the Bishops supported their wording of the address, on the ground that the Protestant Religion was the known denomination of the *common doctrine* of such parts of the West as had separated from Rome. The Lower House proposed, with other alterations of the passage, the words 'Protestant Churches,' for Protestant Religion, being unwilling to acknowledge Religion as separate from the Church. The Upper House in turn amended thus,—'the interest of the Protestant Religion in *this*, and *all other* Protestant Churches;' but the Lower, still jealous of any diminution of the English Church by a comparison with foreign Protestants, persisted in their opposition, and gained at length that the address, after thanking the King for his zeal for the Church of England, should proceed to anticipate, that thereby 'the interest of the Protestant Religion in'" [not 'this and,' but] "'all other Protestant Churches would be better secured.' Birch adds, 'the King well understood why this address omitted the thanks which the Bishops had recommended, for . . . . the zeal which he had shewn for the Protestant Religion; and *why there was no expression of tenderness to the Dissenters, and but a cool regard to the Protestant Churches.'* " No. 71. pp. 32, 33.

Another question on which we may be fairly indulged in a liberty of opinion is, whether or not the Church of Rome is "the mother of harlots," and

the Pope St. Paul's "man of sin." And as feeling it is fairly an open question, I see no need of entering at length into it, even did the limits of a Letter admit. How those divines who hold the Apostolical Succession can maintain the affirmative, passes my understanding; for in holding the one and other point at once, they are in fact proclaiming to the world that they come from "the synagogue of Satan," and (if I may so speak) have the devil's orders[f]. I know that highly revered persons have so thought; perhaps they considered that the fatal apostasy took place at Trent, that is, *since* the date of our derivation from Rome; yet, if the proper evidence that the Bishop of Rome is Antichrist, lies in "the seven hills," in doctrines "about the souls of men," in what you consider "blasphemous titles," and in "lying wonders," then the great Gregory, to whom we Saxons owe our conversion, was Antichrist, for in him and his times were these tokens fulfilled, and our Church

[f] On this passage Dr. Faussett remarks from the Scholar Armed, that "the succession of Church offices is no more affected by the errors of Popery, than a man's pedigree is affected by his bodily distemper or the distempers of his parents." p. vi. I maintain this myself most fully; but is it possible that the ministers and partizans of "the man of sin" are merely *diseased Christians?* "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?" the "seed" in whose "mouth" the "Spirit" and the "words" of God ever abide, out of that communion which is prophetically declared to be "the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird?"

and its Sees are in no small measure the very work of the "Man of Sin." And the dissenting bodies among us seem to understand this well; for they respond to our attack upon Rome, by briskly returning it on ourselves. They know none of those subtle distinctions by which we distinguish in this matter between ourselves and our ancient Mother, but they apply at once to our actual state what we confess of our original descent. If Rome has committed fornication with the kings of the earth, what must be said of the Church of England with her temporal power, her Bishops in the House of Lords, her dignified clergy, her prerogatives, her pluralities, her buying and selling of preferments, her patronage, her corruptions, and her abuses? If Rome's teaching be a deadly heresy, what is our Church's, which "destroys more souls than it saves?" If Rome be "Mystery" because it has mysterious doctrines, what are we with our teaching about the Sacraments and about things in heaven? If "commanding to abstain from meats" be a mark of Antichrist's communion, why do we observe days of fasting and abstinence, and why have our most revered teachers of times past been men of mortified lives? If Rome has put a yoke on the neck of Christians, why have not we, with our prescribed form of prayer, our Saints' Days, our Ordinances, and our prohibition of irregular preaching? If Rome is accused of assuming divine titles and powers, is not our own Church vulnerable too, con-

sidering the Bishop ordains under the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost," and the Priest has power given him to remit and retain sins? No; serious as are the corruptions of Rome, clear indeed as are the differences between her communion and ours, they do not lie in any prophetic criteria; we cannot prove her the enchantress of the Apocalyptic Vision, without incurring our share in its application; and our enemies see this and make use of it. I am not inventing a parallel; they see it and use it. They are now exulting, as they believe piously, in our Church's troubles, for they consider, that while she is established, she is "partaker of the sins" of Rome, and they see in them the fulfilment of the prophecy, that the "ten horns" should "hate" the woman, and "make her desolate and naked, and eat her flesh, and burn her with fire." They view in the confiscations going on in Spain and Portugal, and in the measures of our own government at home, the progress of one and the same Retributive Dispensation. And they declare that we have not yet obeyed the exhortation which you address to your readers, "Come out of her, My people, that ye receive not of her plagues;" not, till we give up our stalls, our livings, and our dignities, and are content to rest merely on our popularity, our powers of preaching, our acceptableness to our people, our efficiency, our industry, and our Christian perfection. Nor is this most odious view a modern one; nor is it held by orthodox though

mistaken men only. The argument was evolved to its last link at the time of the Reformation. The followers of Socinus then proclaimed that Rome was Babylon; and that those who so thought could not consistently stop till they thought Socinianism the Gospel. According to the well-known lines they said,

> *Tota* jacet Babylon; destruxit tecta Lutherus,
> Calvinus muros, *sed fundamenta Socinus.*

I will here add, in further illustration, an extract from a new work on the Revelations, which has lately come to a second edition. Whether the author calls himself a Dissenter or not, I know not. He certainly treats the English Church far more tenderly than Dissenters do in general, but any how he will serve as a specimen of the capabilities of our own system under the same ingenious exegetic which makes the Pope Antichrist. It is worth remarking too, that this writer is not an orthodox believer, even putting the most lax meaning upon that word. That he is not, the following extract, not very learned, but very explicit, will suffice to shew. "The varieties of their languages and dialects," he says, speaking of the Arian controversy, "contributed to multiply their perplexities and to inflame their anger. If a Father of the Eastern Church waxed wroth that his ponderous treatise on the Homoousion was assailed by a Carthaginian Doctor with African Latin, he retaliated the indig-

nity on some Italian Bishop, by refuting his defence of the Homoiousion in Asiatic Greek; while every attempt to elucidate the chimerical matter in dispute only made 'confusion worse confounded.' "

This being the complexion of his theology, he administers a mingled praise and censure to our Church, in course of commenting on the words, "The third Angel sounded, and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters; and the name of the star is called Wormwood, &c." Rev. viii. 10, 11.

"The Anglo-reformed Church," he says, "had soon to appear in another character. She approved herself "a great star, burning as it were a lamp," but prophecy had designated that star by a name to which she must make good her title; "and the name of that star is called Wormwood.". . . . The Anglo-reformed Church was, from the hour of her birth, rigidly intolerant. Filling her lamp with light "from the great mountain burning with fire," she imbibed together with its glorious illumination, her full share of the uncharitable spirit by which it was attended. During the religious excitement which agitated the reign of Edward VI. a woman, Joan Boches, used sometimes to exercise her distempered intellect with a short rhapsody which I forbear from citing . . . The bewildered enthusiast fancied that her farrago of words signified something theological: and her delusion was confirmed by no less a personage than

Abp. Cranmer. But as she and the primate could not agree in their attempts to interpret what was incapable of any rational interpretation at all, his Grace finished the controversy, by causing the poor crazy creature to be publicly burnt to death.

"Such was the spirit with which the Anglo-reformed Church commenced, and *qualis ab incepto*, long continued her course. Her martyrdom illustrated her faith and fortitude, but inspired her with no charity; her heart was not softened by her tribulation. Under the primacies of Abps. Parker and Whitgift, the forerunners of Abbot and Laud, she exhibited an intolerance which so strongly resembled the persecuting ferocity of the Romish Church, that the "old mother of harlots" must have acknowledged, that of her frail daughters one at least, though making her

"feel
How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is
To have a thankless child"

inherited so much of her own characteristics as to fairly entitle the truant to the honour of the family pedigree. . . . . In ten years of her reign, fifty Romish priests were executed, and fifty-five were banished. . . . . The efforts of the Anglo-reformed Church to repress every degree of dissent from any article of her creed, and every degree of non-conformity with any part of her ritual and liturgy, were thus directed with an asperity so intensely bitter, as to well justify her claim to the apocalyptic name of

"*Wormwood.*" And the length of time for which she persisted in that spirit, has amply proved, that its prevalence was independent of the accidental character of individual sovereigns, statesmen, or prelates. The histories and biographical memoirs of the sufferers from her intolerance, variously denominated non-conformists, non-jurors, dissenters, Brownists, puritans, &c. cover at least a century and a half with the most affecting narratives that ever inspired a generous indignation against oppression, or invoked sympathy with its victims. . . . .

"Seeing then the unspeakable importance of the consequences, which the history of Christianity will trace in the two hemispheres to the Anglo-reformed Church—in the Western, to the severe coercion of dissenters, and in both in the luminous piety and holy devotion of her glorious martyrs, when she was cast down from her high seats of civil power —we cannot be surprised at finding her noticed in the Apocalypse by her apparently incongruous characteristics, the brightness of her light, and the bitterness of her intolerance: "there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers."

But enough, or rather too much of this author, whose remarks however are not without the merit of ingenuity. Returning to the case of the Roman Church, I need not say more than this; that the 17th and 18th chapters of the Apocalypse, on which

the supposed Scripture evidence against her principally rests, must either be taken literally, *or* figuratively; now they do not apply to her unless they are taken partly in the one way, partly in the other. Take the chapters literally, and, sure it is, Rome *is* spoken of; but then she has merchants and ships and sailors; and therefore is not Papal Rome but Pagan. Take them figuratively; and then, sure it is, merchants and merchandize, *may* mean indulgences and traffickers in them; but then the "great imperial city on seven hills" or Rome[g] may perchance be a figure also, as well as her merchandize. Nay, I should almost say, it must be; for the city is spoken of not only as Rome but as Babylon; and if Babylon is a figurative title, why should not Rome be? The interpretation then lies between Pagan Rome which is past, and some city, or power typified as a city, which is to come; and probably may be true both ways. But, if we insist on adapting the prophecy to Papal Rome, then we are reduced to take half of the one interpretation, half of the other; and by the same process, only taking in each case the *other* half, we may with equal success make it London, for London has *literally* ships and sailors, merchants and merchandize, and is a *figurative* Rome, as being an Imperial City[h].

[g] I have corrected this sentence, which was faultily expressed, as Dr. Faussett has shewn. The argument remains as before.

[h] Dr. Faussett calls this allusion to London, "Mr. Newman's

And now I come to the main subject of discussion, which is so much more arduous than any of the others, that I fear it will occupy a long time; and that is the subject of the Holy Eucharist.

Before entering upon it, I will notice several points in your publication connected with it which call for remark.

You write as follows:—"The term Altar, as synonymous with the Lord's Table, *does not appear to have been adopted till about the end of the second century;* and then merely in a figurative sense, and *out of a spirit of accommodation*, as it should seem, to the *prejudices* of Jews and Pagans, who habitually reproached the Christians as having neither Altar nor Sacrifice." pp. 18, 19. You are of opinion that the word Altar was not used for the Lord's Table "till *about* the end of the second century." On the contrary I read it in as many as *four* out of the seven brief Epistles of St. Ignatius, at the end of the *first*. If this be so, this glorious Saint and Martyr, the immediate companion of Apostles, acted in a "spirit of accommodation" to the "prejudices of Jews and Pagans." Do my eyes play me false in reading Ignatius, or in reading your "Revival of Popery?"

flippant suggestion." Let me assure him, I am far from making it jestingly. If he allows me to hold that the prophecies have successive and approximating fulfilments, I think I could maintain that London has, at this moment, many of the tokens of the Apocalyptic Babylon, though the full antitype may be still to come.

First he uses it in his Epistle to the Ephesians: —"For if I in so short a season formed such an intimacy with your Bishop, not a human but a spiritual, how much more do I call you fortunate, who are so united to him, as the Church to Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ to the Father, that all things may be concordant in unity? Let no one err; unless a man be *within the Altar* (*ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου*) he comes short of the bread of God. For if the prayer of one and a second has such power, how much more that of the Bishop and all the Church?" §. 5.

Next, in that to the Magnesians:—"Let there be one prayer, one supplication, one mind, one hope, in love, in that joy which is irrreprovable. There is one Jesus Christ, to whom nought is preferable; all of you then run together as to one Temple, as *for one Altar*, (*ἐπὶ ἓν θυσιαστήριον*) as for One Jesus Christ, who is come forth from One Father, and returned again to One." §. 7.

Thirdly, in that to the Trallians:—"Guard against such [sectarians,] and this will be if you are not puffed up, nor separated from Jesus Christ our God, and the Bishop, and the ordinances of the Apostles. He who is within *the Altar* (*ἐντὸς θυσιαστηρίου*) is clear; that is, he who does any thing without Bishop, and Presbytery, and Deacon, such a one is not clean in conscience." §. 7.

Lastly, in that to the Philadelphians:—"Be

careful to use one Eucharist; for the Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ is one, and one Cup for the uniting of His blood; *one Altar*, (ἓν θυσιαστήριον,) as one Bishop, together with the Presbytery, and Deacons my fellow-servants; that whatever ye do, ye may do after God." §. 4.[1]

[1] Dr. F. maintains, that "not one" of these four passages "goes to the extent of proving, that by the term altar (θυσιαστήριον) is meant the *material table* at which the communicants partook of the Eucharist." p. v. Whether St. Ignatius did or did not mean in these passages to speak of the material Table, (for this is the right way of putting the question, not whether the *words* go to the extent of *proving*,) I leave confidently to the judgment of readers, being quite sure, though here and there and for awhile it may be answered in the negative, yet that the general voice of competent judges will be with me. If it be against me, I have nothing more to say. The Fathers have too long been sealed books, known to us only through the testimony of a few theologians, who have spoken according to their bias, whether right or wrong. I anticipate little difference among educated persons about their meaning, when they are read more generally. For instance, Mr. Osburn, who has lately written on the Doctrinal errors of the Fathers, says, "He (Ignatius) writes thus to the Philadelphians, 'There is One flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and One cup in the unity of His blood, One Altar.'" Then in a note, he continues; "θυσιαστήριον, that is, place whereon a sacrifice is offered; *he certainly uses it in this literal and offensive sense.*" p. 101. As to the opinion of Ussher, great names, we know, can be found on the side of all questions of divinity, great and small; I subjoin at the end of my pamphlet a passage from Beveridge to meet it, if we must go by names. I will but express my regret that Dr. Faussett *does not produce the passages* which make him say, that "the term altar, as synonymous with the Lord's Table, does not appear to have been adopted till *about* the end of the *second* century." I should have liked to have seen the very passage which to his judgment first "goes to the extent of *proving* that

And while the goodly list of ecclesiastical witnesses to the use of the word Altar for the Lord's Table begins as early as it can after the Apostles and Evangelists, (who use it also as I would contend, (*vid.* Matt. v. 23. Heb. xiii. 10.) but who are not at present under review,) it proceeds downwards, not only in an uninterrupted series, but with a sort of prerogative of usage; for it is very remarkable that, excepting one passage in a letter of St. Dionysius of Alexandria, no ecclesiastical writer at all is found to use the word "Table" till St. Athanasius in the fourth century; and what is also remarkable, when St. Athanasius uses it, he does so with the explanation, "that is, the Holy Altar;" as if he were not using a word *commonly* adopted. On the contrary, the word Altar is used after

by the term altar is meant the Table." As I have produced *mine* for its being at the end of the *first*, I should have liked the opportunity of judging whether *his* passages were stronger than mine. Who knows but, on the *assumption* that the passages in Ignatius do not refer to the material altar, we might have pushed down that use of the term lower still? As to Dr. Faussett's interpretation of the passages in Scripture, Matt. v. 23. and Heb. xiii. 10. it is but his assertion against my assertion. I believe that in both places the word means a material altar under the Gospel; he says in the former it is the Jewish altar, in the latter a figure. Each person will decide according to his previous bias. As to the expression "within the *pale* of the Church," it is figurative, but a figure taken from a literal fence round a literal building. What does Dr. F. consider the *literal sense* of Altar, what and where is that literal Altar, *from which* Ignatius's figure is taken? is he as well as our Lord referring to the Jewish Altar? Second meanings imply first.

St. Ignatius by St. Irenæus, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, Origen, Eusebius, St. Athanasius, St. Ambrose, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Optatus, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, and St. Austin [k].

The next point on which it is necessary to remark, is your saying, that the Tracts for the Times "appeal" on the subject of the Eucharist to the "half-converted German Reformers," that is, to Luther, and Melancthon, "and to the strong and unguarded expressions which their works supply;" and this you call an "alarming fact." I am very glad to find we are so agreed in our judgments as to the authority of Luther and Melancthon in our Church; but I cannot allow that the Tracts do appeal to them, or wish to shelter themselves behind them. Bp. Cosin, in the Tract you refer to, certainly does quote the Lutherans, but he also quotes Calvin, Bucer, and the French Protestants; and that, in order to shew, that "*none* of the Protestant Churches doubt of the real (that is, true and not imaginary) presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament;" and he "begins with the Church of England," quoting first our formularies, then the words of Bilson and Andrews. In what sense then do you mean that the *writers* of the Tracts appeal to the *Lutherans*, when, *not* the writers, but only *Bp. Cosin* in the Tracts, appeals, *not* to the Lutherans, but to

[k] Vid. Johnson Unbl. Sacr. vol. i. p. 306—9.

the *whole Protestant world*[1]? Concerning the Real Presence itself something shall be said presently; meanwhile I do not fear that any great number of Divines will identify or assimilate with Luther's the doctrine held by Hooker, Andrews, Bramhall, Cosin, Bull, Ken, and Leslie. It may be well to quote the words of the last-mentioned Divine concerning this work of Bp. Cosin, whose views you consider do not "fall much, if at all, short of what has been commonly termed Consubstantiation." "Bishop Cosin's History of Transubstantiation," he says to a Romanist, is "a little book, long printed both in English and Latin, not yet answered (that I hear), *and I believe unanswerable*, wherein you see a cloud of witnesses through the first ages of the Church, and so downwards, in perfect contradiction to this new article of your faith." *Rome and England*,

[1] Dr. Faussett says, "this is utterly uncandid, and must not be allowed to pass." p. ix. He goes on to say, that "the Tract," though "a treatise of Bishop Cosin's," "being adopted as a Tract, becomes from that moment, *every letter of it*, the avowed language of the Tract writers." I altogether protest against the idea, that a person reprinting a work, or part of a work, is answerable "for every letter of it." Next, he says, that the Tract writers appeal not only to the Lutherans but "to the whole Protestant world," i. e. *to their formal Confessions*, "at a period," i. e. *at the Reformation*, when a belief "closely bordering on Consubstantiation was widely prevalent." It seems then that Dr. Faussett differs from the Reformers and the Protestants of the Reformation. He goes on to speak of Laud, Cosin, Bilson, Andrews, and Bramhall, as involved in the same charge. At least the Tract writers are in good company; yet Dr. F. treats them as *innovators*.

vol. iii. pp. 130, 1. This is not the language of one who felt Cosin's book to be "an alarming fact."

And thirdly, let me allude to two statements in Mr. Froude's Volumes, on which you dwell, to the effect that our present Communion Service is "a judgment on the Church," and that there would be gain in "replacing it by a good translation of the Liturgy of St. Peter." The state of the case is this; the original Eucharistic form is with good reason assigned to the Apostles and Evangelists themselves. It exists to this day under four different rites, which seem to have come from four different Apostles and Evangelists. These rites differ in some points, agree in others; among the points in which they agree, are of course those in which the Essence of the Sacrament consists. At the time of the Reformation we in common with all the West possessed the rite of the Roman Church, or St. Peter's Liturgy. This formulary is also called the Canon of the Mass, and except a very few words, appears, even as now used in the Roman Church, to be free from interpolation, and thus is distinguished from the Ordinary of the Mass, which is the additional and corrupt service prefixed to it, and peculiar to Rome. This sacred and most precious monument, then, of the Apostles, our Reformers received whole and entire from their predecessors; and they mutilated the tradition of 1500 years. Well was it for us that they did not discard it, that they did not touch any vital part; for through

God's good providence, though they broke it up and cut away portions, they did not touch life; and thus we have it at this day, a violently treated, but a holy and dear possession, more dear perhaps and precious than if it were in its full vigour and beauty, as sickness or infirmity endears to us our friends and relatives. Now the first feeling which comes upon an ardent mind, on mastering these facts, is one of indignation and impatient sorrow; the second, is the more becoming thought, that as he deserves nothing at all at God's hand, and is blessed with Christian privileges only at His mere bounty, it is nothing strange that he does not enjoy every privilege which was given through the Apostles; and his third, that we are mysteriously bound up with our forefathers and bear their sin, or in other words, that our present condition is a judgment on us for what they did. These, I conceive, to be the feelings which dictated the sentences in question; the earlier is more ardent, the latter is more subdued. The one says, "For a long time he looked on me as a mere sophister, but ——— conciliated his affections with Palmer's chapter on the Primitive Liturgies; and I verily believe he would now gladly consent to see our Communion Service replaced by a good translation of the Liturgy of St. Peter, a name which I advise you to substitute in your notes to ——— for the obnoxious phrase 'Mass Book.'" vol. i. p. 287. Lest any misconception of the

Author's meaning should arise from the use of the word "replaced," I would observe, that such "replacing" would not remove one prayer, one portion of our present Service; it would consist but of addition and re-arrangement, of a return to the original Canon. The substance of this explanation is contained in the second volume of the Remains, (Essay on Liturgies[m],) a reference to which would supersede it. The other passage runs as follows: "By the bye, the more I think over that view of yours about regarding our present Communion Service, &c. as a judgment on the Church, and taking it as crumbs from the Apostles' table, the more I am struck with its fitness to be dwelt upon as tending to check the intrusion of irreverent thoughts without in any way interfering with one's just indignation. *If I were a Roman Catholic Priest, I should look on the administration of the Communion in one kind in the same light.*" vol. i. p. 410. You see, he thought that nothing would be gained by going to Rome, unsatisfactory as might be our present case. Nay that he was not even in favour of changes in our own Services, to meet the defect, appears from the following passage in his Tract on the Daily Service: "This, it will be said, is an argument, not so much for retaining the present form of the Prayer Book, as for reverting to what is older. In my own mind, it is an argument for something different from either, for

[m] Vid. also the Introduction of Tracts, No. 81.

diffidence. I very much doubt whether in these days the spirit of true devotion is at all understood, and whether an attempt either to go forward or backward, may not lead our innovations to the same result. 'If the blind lead the blind, shall they not both fall into the ditch?'" vol. ii. p. 382.

And now at length let me proceed to the doctrine itself to which these remarks relate, the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. Here I could have much wished that you had, at least in your Notes, drawn out that view of it which you consider to be Scriptural and Anglican. It would have been a great satisfaction to know where I am standing, how far I can assent, how far I am obliged to dissent from your opinion. But, excepting from one or two half sentences, I really can gather nothing to the purpose; I only see you do not hold, but rather condemn, a view which Bp. Cosin declares to be that of all "the Protestant" or "Reformed Churches." To this difficulty I must submit as I can; and instead of letting the course of my remarks run along your pages, shall be obliged against my will to take a more prominent part in the discussion.

As regards then this most solemn subject, three questions offer themselves for consideration; first, whether there is a Real Presence of Christ in this Holy Sacrament, next what It is, and thirdly where. On the first of these I shall not use many words, because on the one hand the Real Presence is expressly recognized by the Catechism and Homilies,

(not to mention the language of the Service itself,) and on the other because you do not absolutely condemn such language, only you think it "highly objectionable and dangerous" when "systematically and studiously adopted." I shall not therefore debate a point which the formularies of our Church decide, when they declare that "the Body and Blood of Christ" are "*verily and indeed* taken and received by the faithful *in* the Lord's Supper;" that "the Body of Christ is *given*, *taken*, and *eaten in* the Supper;" and that "thus much we must be sure to hold, that *in* the Supper of the Lord there is no vain ceremony, no bare sign, *no untrue figure of a thing absent*, but, as the Scripture saith, . . . the communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord, in a marvellous incorporation, which by the operation of the Holy Ghost, the very bond of our conjunction with Christ, is through faith wrought in the souls of the faithful, whereby not only their souls live to eternal life, but they surely trust to win to their bodies a resurrection to immortality[n]." These passages seem to determine that the Body and Blood of Christ are not absent but present in the Lord's Supper; and if Christ's Body be there, His Soul is there, and His Divine Nature; He is there whole and entire. Nor does any one doubt this of His Presence as God, for He is every where; but the question is, whether His human nature also is present in the Sacrament.

[n] Sermon of the Sacrament, part I.

In corroboration of the view here taken of the statements of our Church, I quote the following passage from Hooker, who, we all know, was not in this, any more than in other points, an extreme Divine. He argues that the three Schools of opinion in his day, the Romanists, the Lutherans, and the Sacramentaries, (the last, I need not say, being one which no where exists as a body at this day, but which originally was the School of Zuinglius and Œcolampadius,) might well waive the question among themselves, *how* Christ is present, upon the common confession that He *is really* present. And he defends the Sacramentaries from the objection then urged against them, and since fulfilled in their descendants, that they admitted a Presence in words and explained it away; and, as believing they did not explain it away, he admits them into this compact of charity, as it may be called. He says, "*It is on all sides plainly confessed*, . . . that this Sacrament is a *true and real* participation of Christ, who thereby imparteth Himself, *even His whole entire Person*, as a mystical head unto every soul that receiveth Him, and that every such receiver doth thereby incorporate or unite himself unto Christ as a mystical member of Him, yea of them also whom He acknowledgeth to be His own . . . . . It seemeth therefore much amiss, that against them whom they term Sacramentaries so many invective discourses are made, all running upon two points, that the Eucharist is not a bare

sign or figure only, and that the efficacy of His Body and Blood *is not all* we receive in this Sacrament. For no man, having read their books and writings which are thus traduced, can be ignorant that *both* these assertions *they plainly confess to be most true.* They *do not so interpret the words of Christ*, as if the name of His Body did import but *the figure of His Body;* and to be were only to *signify* His Blood. They *grant* that these Holy Mysteries, received in due manner, do instrumentally *both* make us partakers of the *grace* of that Body and Blood which were given for the life of the world, *and besides* also impart unto us, even in *true and real, though mystical manner, the very Person of our Lord Himself, whole, perfect, and entire,* as hath been shewed[o]."

Elsewhere he says, "Doth any man doubt, but that *even from the flesh* of Christ our very bodies do receive that life which shall make them glorious at the latter day; and for which they are already accounted parts of His Blessed Body? Our corruptible bodies could never live the life they shall live, were it not that *here* they are joined with His Body which is incorruptible, and that *His is in ours* as a *cause* of immortality, a cause by removing through the death and merit of His own Flesh that which hindered the life of ours. Christ is therefore, both as God and as man, that true Vine whereof we both spiritually *and corporally* are branches. The

[o] Eccl. Pol. v. 67. §. 7, 8.

mixture of His Bodily *Substance* with ours is a thing which the Ancient Fathers disclaim. Yet the mixture of His Flesh with ours they speak of, to signify what *our very bodies*, through mystical conjunction, receive from *that vital* efficacy which we know to be in His; and from bodily mixtures they borrow diverse similitudes, rather to declare the *truth* than the *manner* of coherence between His Sacred, and the sanctified bodies of saints[p]."

So much on the testimony of our Church and of her celebrated Divine to the doctrine of the Real Presence. But here it is objected that such a Presence is *impossible;* and this brings us to the question *how* Christ is present, which stands next for consideration. The objection takes this form,—if He is *really* here, He is *locally* here, but He is locally in heaven not here, therefore He cannot really be here, but is only said to be here. Now to answer this question.

Now Bellarmine maintains that our Lord can be locally here, though He is in heaven; for he lays it down as a theological truth that a body can be in two places at once. Accordingly he would say, that in the Sacrament that very Body, which died upon the Cross, and rose again and ascended, is locally present under the accidents of Bread.

Our Church, however, in the note at the end of the Communion Service, incidently argues, that a body cannot be in two places at once; and that the

[p] Ibid. 56. §. 9.

Body of Christ is not *locally* present, in the sense in which we speak of the Bread as being locally present. On the other hand she determines, as I have already said, that the Body of Christ is in some mysterious way, though not *locally*, yet *really* present, so that after some ineffable manner we partake of it. Whereas then the objection stands, Christ is not really here, because He is not locally here, she answers, He is really here, yet not locally.

I will say directly what is meant by this ; first, however, let me briefly observe, that there is nothing (as far as I am aware) in Mr. Froude's writings in countenance of the *local* presence on earth, as it is commonly understood, though he certainly did not sympathise with the Reformers at all in their mode of arguing on the subject. When he speaks of "making the Body and Blood of Christ," or indirectly adopts the phrase of "making the Bread and Wine the Body and Blood of Christ," he does not go beyond the doctrine of the Real Presence, which, as we shall see, need not be local ; and in the use of the one phrase he is borne out by Hooker, who speaks of the Christian Ministry as having "power imparted" to it by Christ, "both over that mystical body which is the society of souls, *and* over that *Natural, which is Himself*, for the knitting of both in one, a work" (he proceeds) "which Antiquity doth call *the making of Christ's Body ;*" while he brings forward the other, not in his own words, but in the words of Bishop Bull, who says, "We

are not ignorant that the ancient Fathers generally teach that the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist, by or upon the consecration of them, do become and *are made* the Body and Blood of Christ."

At the same time I do not deny he considered it conceivable that, *for what we know*, It might be in a certain sense a local, as well as a real, Presence[q]; but how far he was from agreeing with the Roman doctrine will be clearly seen from a passage of his writings, not yet published. In an unfinished Essay on Rationalism, speaking of the interpretation which supposes "This is My Body" to mean "This is a sign of My body," he says, "This mode of speaking....is true in one sense, and in every other gratuitous and improper. If it is intended simply to deny, that by the words 'This is My Body' our Lord meant, 'This is *that very* Body of Mine which you see before you sitting at the Table,' then indeed *the sentiment is true*, however awkward may be the expression of it. But if the words 'Sign of My Body' are understood to convey any idea *more definite and intelligible* than that which is conveyed in our Lord's own words,

[q] Dr. Faussett calls this "a reluctant admission that Mr. Froude allowed, in some sort, a local Presence of Christ's human nature *in the elements*." p. ix. It is no admission at all of this. I do *not* admit that Mr. Froude maintained a local Presence *in* the elements; but in some sort a local presence, on and at the Altar, and in immediate connexion with the elements, but where, being a question quite beyond us. Vid. infra, p. 65.

then most certainly that idea is unscriptural, it is a mere human invention fabricated to set the mind at rest, *where God has seen fit to leave it in uncertainty.*" Here he says the very thing which I conceive our Church holds, that Christ's Body *is* present, but *how* it is present is a *mystery*; it being hidden from us how Christ can be really here, while in heaven. Both Protestant and Romanist attempt to explain how; Protestants by saying it is a mere figurative or nominal presence, and as to Romanists, I will quote Mr. Froude's own words about them which occur soon after; "Opposed to these errors, (the Protestant,) but *erroneous much for the same reason*, is the Roman Catholic dogma about Transubstantiation. Unlike the Protestant glosses, this does not attempt to explain away every thing miraculous in the history of the Last Supper; but by explaining precisely *wherein* the miracle consisted and *how* it is brought about, it aims like them at relieving us from a confession of ignorance, and *so far must be regarded as a contrivance of human scepticism*, to elude the claims of Faith, and to withdraw from the hidden Mysteries of religion the indistinctness in which God has thought fit to envelope them."

Though then the author, whom you have felt it your duty to accuse of Romanizing on the subject of the Eucharist, was no Protestant with respect to it, he was still far enough from the Roman view of it to consider it sceptical and rationalistic; and while he confessed that Christ's Body was *really*, and did

not venture to deny that in some unknown sense it might even be *locally*, present, (though not in *that* sense in which He had sat before the Apostles at the Table,) he held with our Church that it was a Presence in mystery, or Sacramental Presence, which could not be defined, could not be pointed at, and could only be adored.

But it may be asked, what is the meaning of saying that Christ is really present, yet not locally? This is the point I was coming to, and I will now make a suggestion on the subject. What do we mean by being *present?* How do we define and measure it? to a blind and deaf man, that only is present which he touches; give him hearing, and the range of things present enlarges; every thing is present to him which he hears. Give him at length sight, and the sun may be said to be present to him in the day time, and myriads of stars by night. The *Presence* then of a thing is a relative word, depending in the popular sense of it upon the channels of communication between it and him to whom it is present; and thus it is a word of degree. Such is the meaning of presence when used of material objects; very different from this in our conceptions is the presence of spirit with spirit. The most intimate presence we can fancy is a spiritual presence in the soul; it is nearer to us than any material object can possibly be, for the body which is the organ of conveying to us the presence of matter, sets bounds to its approach

towards us. If then spiritual beings can be brought near to us, (and that they can, we know from what is told us of the influences of Divine grace, and again of evil angels upon our souls,) their presence is something *sui generis*, of a more perfect and simple character than any presence we commonly call local, meaning by *local* bodily. And further, their presence has nothing to do with the degrees of nearness; they are either present or not present, or, in other words, their coming is not measured by space nor their absence ascertained by distance. In the case of things material, a transit through space is the necessary condition of approach and presence; but in things spiritual, (whatever be the condition,) such a transit seems not to be a condition. The condition is unknown. Once more; while beings simply spiritual seem not to exist in place, the Incarnate Son does; according to our Church's statement already alluded to; that "the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven and not here, it being against the *truth* of Christ's natural Body to be at one time *in more places than one*."

Such seems to be the mystery attending our Lord and Saviour; He has a *body*, and that *spiritual;* He is both in place, and yet, as being a Spirit, His mode of approach, the mode in which He makes Himself present here or there, may be, for what we know, as different from the mode in which material bodies approach and come, as

a spiritual presence is more perfect. As material bodies approach by moving from place to place, so the approach and presence of a spiritual body may be in some other way,—probably is in some other way, since in some other way, (as it would appear,) not gradual, progressive, approximating, that is, locomotive, but at once, spirits become present,—may be such as to be consistent with His remaining on God's right hand while He becomes present here,—may be real yet not local, or in a word, is *mysterious*. The Body and Blood of Christ may be really, literally present in the Holy Eucharist, yet not having become present by local passage, may still literally and really be on God's right hand; so that, though they be present in deed and truth, it may be impossible, it may be untrue to say that they are literally *in* the elements, or *about* them, or *in* the soul of the receiver. These may be useful modes of speech according to the occasion; but the true determination of all such questions may be this, that Christ's Body and Blood are *locally* at God's right hand, *yet* really *present* here,—present here, but not here in place,—because they are spirit.

To assist our conceptions on this subject, I would recur to what I said just now, about the presence of material objects, by way of putting my meaning in a different point of view. The presence of a material object, in the popular sense of the word, is a matter of degree, and ascertained by the means

of apprehending it in him to whom it is present. It is in some sense a correlative of the senses. A fly may be as near an edifice as a man; yet we do not call it present to the fly, because it cannot see it, and we call it present to the man, because he can. This, however, is but a popular view of the matter; when we consider it carefully, it certainly is difficult to say what *is* meant by the presence of matter relatively to us. It is in some respects truer to say that a thing is present, which is so circumstanced as to act upon us and influence us, whether we are sensible of it or not. Now this is what the Church Catholic seems to hold concerning our Lord's Presence in the Sacrament, that He then personally and bodily acts upon us in the way an object does which we call present; how He does so we know not, but that He should do so, though He be millions of miles away, is not more inconceivable than the influence of eyesight is to a blind man. The stars are millions of miles off; yet they impress ideas upon our souls through our sight. We know but of five senses; we know not whether or not human nature be capable of more; we know not whether or not the soul possesses any thing analogous to them. We know nothing to negative the notion, that the soul may be capable of having Christ present to it by the stimulating of dormant or the development of possible energies. As sight for certain purposes annihilates space, so other unknown capacities, bodily or spiritual, may anni-

hilate it for other purposes. Such a practical annihilation was involved in the appearance of Christ to St. Paul on his conversion. Such a practical annihilation is involved in the doctrine of Christ's ascension; if we may reverently so speak, what must have been the rapidity of that motion by which within ten days He placed our human nature at the right hand of God? Is it more mysterious that He should "open the heavens," as Scripture expresses it, in the Sacramental Rite, that He should then dispense with time and space in the sense in which they are daily dispensed with in the Sun's warming us at the distance of 100,000,000 of miles, than that He should have dispensed with them on occasion of His ascending on high? He who shewed what the passage of an incorruptible body was ere it had reached God's throne, thus suggests to us what may be its coming back and presence with us now, when at length glorified and become spirit.

In answer then to the problem, *how* Christ comes to us while remaining on high, I answer just as much as this,—that He comes by the agency of the Holy Ghost *in* and *by the Sacrament*. Locomotion is the means of a material presence; the Sacrament is the means of His spiritual Presence. As faith is the means of our receiving It, so the Holy Ghost is the Agent and the Sacrament the means of His imparting It; and therefore we call It a Sacramental Presence. We kneel before His

heavenly Throne; and the distance is as nothing; it is as if that Throne were the Altar close to us.

Let it be carefully observed that I am not proving or determining any thing; I am only shewing how it is that certain propositions which at first sight seem contradictions in terms, are not so; I am but pointing out *one* way of reconciling them. If there is but one way assignable, the force of any antecedent objection against the possibility of reconciling them is removed, and then of course there may be others supposable though not assignable. It seems at first sight a mere idle use of words to say that Christ is really and literally, yet not locally, present in the Sacrament; that He is there given to us, not in figure but in truth, and yet is still only on the right hand of God. I have wished to remove this seeming impossibility.

If it be asked, *why* attempt to remove it, I answer that I have no wish to do so, if persons will not urge it against the Catholic doctrine. Men maintain it is an impossibility, a contradiction in terms, and force a believer in it to say why it should not be so accounted. And then when he gives a reason, they turn round and accuse him of subtleties, and refinements, and scholastic trifling. Let them but believe and act on the truth that the consecrated Bread is Christ's Body as He says, and no officious comment will be attempted by any well-judging man. But when they say "this *cannot* be

literally true *because* it is impossible," then they force those who think it is literally true, to explain how according to their notions it is not impossible. And those who ask hard questions must put up with hard answers. Mr. Froude gives one answer; I have given another, viz. that, though Christ's local presence be in heaven alone, yet that it is by no means plain that a spiritual Body may not as being a spirit become really present, without moving, that is, without ceasing to be in that one place where it is[r].

The whole question comes to this: we have no right to attempt to *decide* what the nature of the presence is, *till* we have defined the word *presence*, whether as said of material things or of spiritual.

And now the way is clear to add a few words on the relation of the consecrated elements to those Realities of which they are the outward signs.

The Romanists, we know, consider that the elements of Bread and Wine vanish or are taken away on Consecration, and that the Body and Blood of Christ take their place. This is the doctrine of Transubstantiation; and in consequence they hold

[r] Dr. F. remarks that congregations of plain understanding *will* join together the ideas of local and real, and either admit both or reject both. p. x. Yes; they will, *till* you teach that the separation between them in the Sacrament is a *mystery*. Might not a Socinian argue with him in the same way, "Plain men *will* think the idea of a Trinity irreconcilable with that of a Unity in the Godhead, and either become Unitarians or Tritheists?"

that what is seen, felt, and tasted, is not Bread and Wine but Christ's Flesh and Blood, though the former look, feel, and taste remain. This is what neither our Church, nor any of the late maintainers of her doctrine on the subject, even dreams of holding. The Lutherans say that, though the Bread remains, the Body of Christ is within [intra] the Bread; neither is this countenanced by any of the persons alluded to. They hold a spiritual Presence to be such as not to allow of being strictly co-extensive with place, in the way in which a bodily substance, in the way in which the Bread is. Therefore they cannot be said to countenance the Lutheran doctrine of Consubstantiation, according to which Christ's Body is so in the Bread as to be eaten by the unbelieving. What they do say is that Christ's Body *is* present, but they do not know *how;* it being a mystery, as I have said already, how it can be really present yet not locally or as bodies are.

It is true there is a passage in Mr. Froude's Letters in which he seems to assert that the Body of Christ is locally *in* the Bread; though this is, I apprehend, not really the case on a candid judgment of it. He finds fault with an expression in a Poem, which, speaking of the Lord's Supper, says, "There present in the heart, not in the hands, &c." He adds, "How can we possibly know that it is true to say, '*not* in the hands?'" p. 404. that is, he much disliked dogmatic decisions *of any*

kind upon the subject. He does not rule that it *is* in the hands, but, with Hooker, he wishes the question left open; he disliked its being determined that it *was* in the heart in a sense in which it was *not* in the hands, seeing we know nothing of the matter. I am certain, from what I know of his opinions, that he did not mean, that the Body of Christ which is on God's right hand, was literally *in* the Bread.

But without limiting Christ's presence to the consecrated elements, it seems nothing but the truth to say that they are the immediate antecedents of Christ; so that he who in faith receives them, at once, and without assignable medium, is gifted with His Presence who is on God's right hand. As the breath is the immediate forerunner of the voice, as the face is the image of the soul, as a garment marks a bodily presence, so, I conceive, the elements are the antecedents of His Body and Blood, or what our Article calls, the "effectual signs, (efficacia signa,) by the which He doth work invisibly in us," or, as Hooker calls them, His "instruments." And hence, whereas He is unseen, and His Presence ineffable, and known only by Its outward signs, we say, when we take them, that we take the awful Realities which follow on them; when we touch the one, we touch the Other, when we eat the one, we eat the Other, when we drink the one, we drink the Other. We apply to our approach to the Sacred Gift all words, but those of

sense; we do not literally say, we feel or see the Body and Blood under the outward signs, for, strictly speaking, what we see is Bread; but as taste and colour are the evidence of the presence of that material substance of Bread which we do not see, so the Bread, thus evidenced to our senses, is the token of that Adorable Body which we do not see. Touching or eating are not, at least are not used in theology, as words appropriate to the senses. When we feel the Bread with our fingers, we touch the Body; when we taste the Bread with our lips, we eat the Body. And moreover, whereas words of sense belong to our bodily frame, and words which are not of sense to our souls, therefore we are accustomed to speak as if it were our soul which took, touched, eat, and drank the Heavenly Gift; in that our soul is in our eyes and in our fingers, and in our lips; and when they variously apprehend the Bread that is seen, then the soul apprehends that sacred Body which is not seen, and which is said to be in our hands and in our mouths only inasmuch as the soul is in those bodily members. And, whereas what is spiritual has no parts, and what is spiritual cannot receive in part, therefore when we speak of eating Christ's Body with the soul, the words must not be grossly or absurdly taken to mean a partial or gradual communication of so Heavenly a Treasure, as happens in carnal eating; but that in some unknown way the soul becomes possessed at once of Christ according to its nature, and that as bodily contact is the mode in

which Bread enters and nourishes our bodies, so the soul, and the motions of the soul, and faith which is of the soul, as by an inward contact, is the mean and instrument of receiving Christ.

One explanation must be added, before proceeding to cite one or two passages which will give authority to what has been said. Sometimes it is usual to speak of the Gift in the Sacrament as being "a spiritual substance," which would seem to mean neither bread nor Christ who is in heaven, but something in the bread; thus the Homily which I shall directly quote speaks of "an invisible meat and not a bodily; a ghostly substance, and not a carnal." But the meaning of such expressions seems to be this, that, whereas Christ's Sacred Body is represented "under the form of Bread," as the first Book of Homilies expresses it, so that the Bread may be called His Body, it is not improper to denote Its Presence under material images; and hence the Bread which is Its medium, is spoken of as parallel or answering to the breath, or clay, or virtue going from Him, which was the mode in which He communicated Himself to those about Him when He was on earth. As then the moisture or breath proceeding from His lips was a substance but bodily, so may the consecrated Bread be said to contain or to be a spiritual substance. Mr. Knox expresses in the main what I would say, in the following passage, though with some unimportant differences. "The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper

is to serve as the external and visible medium through which the disciples of Christ, in all ages, are to expect, through the co-operation of the Eternal Spirit, the *divinely vivifying influences* of His Incarnate Person, and the *ineffable virtues* of His crucifixion and death. The fact being undeniable, that there are, in the evangelic Dispensation, such *influences* and such *virtues*, those *influences* and *virtues* being denominated by our Lord Himself His Flesh and His Blood, we are obliged by the terms of St. Paul, and by the still stronger terms (if that be possible) of our Lord Himself, to identify the internal grace and virtue of the Eucharist with those *quickening*, *strengthening*, *and purifying communications* which are promised to Christians, as *proceeding from the Person* and Death of Christ, through the ever co-operative agency of the Holy Ghost [a]."

Now let it be considered whether the following extracts from the Homilies and the Ecclesiastical Polity do not bear out the main points which have been insisted on. In consideration of the importance of the subject, I hope you will pardon their length.

"The true understanding," says the first part of the Sermon concerning the Sacrament, "of this fruition and union, which is betwixt the body and the Head, betwixt the true believers and Christ, the Ancient Catholic Fathers both perceiving them-

[a] Postscr. to Treatise on the Eucharist, p. 192.

selves and commending to their people, were not afraid to call this Supper, some of them the *Salve of immortality* and sovereign preservative against death; other, a *deifical* communion; other, the sweet dainties of our Saviour, the pledge of eternal health, the defence of faith, the hope of the resurrection; other, the food of immortality, the healthful grace, and the conservatory to everlasting life. . . . . It is well known that the meat we seek for in this supper is spiritual food, the nourishment of our soul, a heavenly refection, and not earthly; an *invisible* meat, and not bodily; a *ghostly substance*, and not carnal. . . . Take then this lesson, O thou that art desirous of the Table, of Emissenus, a godly father, that when thou goest up to the reverend Communion, to be satisfied with spiritual meats, thou *look up with faith* upon the Holy *Body and Blood of thy God*, thou marvel with reverence, thou *touch* It with thy *mind*, thou *receive* It with the hand of thy *heart*, and thou *take* It fully with thy *inward man*."

Hooker, whom I proceed to quote, holds the three following doctrines,—that Christ's Presence is in the soul,—that it comes into the soul from without,—that its comes through the elements, and does not rest in the elements. Speaking of the Apostles at the last Supper, he says, "Being assembled for no other cause, which they could imagine, but to have eaten the Passover only, that Moses appointed, when they saw their Lord and Master, with hands

and eyes lifted up to heaven, first bless and consecrate for the endless good of all generations till the world's end, the chosen elements of bread and wine, —which elements, made for ever the *instruments* of life by virtue of His Divine benediction, they being the first that were commanded to receive from Him, the first which were warranted by His promise, that not only unto them at the present time, but to whomsoever they and their successors after them did duly administer the same, those mysteries should serve as *conducts of life* and *conveyances of His Body and Blood* unto them,—was it possible they should hear that Voice, 'Take, eat, this is My Body,' 'Drink ye all of this, this is My Blood,' possible, that doing what was required, and believing what was promised, the same should have present effect in them, and not fill them with a kind of fearful admiration at the heaven which they saw in themselves? . . . The Bread and Cup are His Body and Blood, because they are *causes instrumental*, upon the receipt whereof the participation of His Body and Blood ensueth. . . . Our souls and bodies quickened to eternal life are effects, the cause whereof is the *Person* of Christ: His Body and Blood are the true well-spring out of which this life floweth. So that His Body and Blood are in that very subject whereunto they minister life; not only by effect or operation, even as the influence of the heavens is in plants, beasts, men, and in every thing which they quicken; but also by *a far more*

divine and mystical kind of union, which maketh us one with Him, even as He and the Father are one. The Real Presence of Christ's most Blessed Body and Blood is not therefore to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament [b]."

Soon after he continues in the following well-known passage: "He which hath said of the one Sacrament, Wash and be clean, hath said concerning the other likewise, Eat and live. If therefore, without any such particular and solemn warrant as this is, that poor distressed woman, coming unto Christ for health, could so constantly resolve herself, May I but touch the skirt of His garment, I shall be whole, what moveth us to argue of the *manner how* life should come by bread, our duty being here but to take what is offered, and most assuredly to rest persuaded of this, that can we but eat, we are safe? When I behold with mine eyes some small and scarce discernible grain or seed, whereof nature maketh a promise that a tree shall come, and when afterwards of that tree any skilful artificer undertaketh to frame some exquisite work, I look for the event, I move no question about performance either of the one or of the other. Shall I singly credit nature in things natural? Shall I in things artificial rely myself on art, never offering to make doubt? and in that which is above both art and nature refuse to believe the Author of

[b] Eccles. Pol. v. 67. §. 4, 5.

both, except He acquaint me with His ways and lay the secret of His skill before me? Where God Himself doth speak those things, which, either for height and sublimity of the matter, or else for secresy of performance, we are not able to reach unto, as we may be ignorant without danger, so it can be no disgrace to confess we are ignorant. Such as love piety, will, as much as in them lieth, know all things that God commandeth, but especially the duties of service which they owe to God. As for His dark and hidden works, they prefer, as becometh them in such cases, simplicity of faith before that knowledge, which, curiously sifting what it should adore, and disputing too boldly of that which the wit of man cannot search, chilleth for the most part all warmth of zeal, and bringeth soundness of belief many times into great hazard. Let it therefore be sufficient for me, presenting myself at the Lord's Table, to know *what* there I receive from Him, without searching or inquiring of the *manner how* Christ performeth His promise. Let disputes and questions, enemies to piety, abatements of true devotion, and hitherto in this cause but over-patiently heard, let them take their rest. Let curious and sharp-witted men beat their heads about what questions themselves will; the very *letter* of the Word of Christ giveth plain security, that *these Mysteries do, as nails, fasten us to His very Cross*, that *by them we draw out, (as touching efficacy, force, and virtue,) even the blood of His gored side;*

in the wounds of our Redeemer we there dip our tongues, we are dyed red both within and without; our hunger is so satisfied, and our thirst for ever quenched. They are things wonderful which he feeleth, great which he seeth, and unheard of which he uttereth, whose soul is possessed of this Paschal Lamb, and made joyful in the strength of this new wine. *This Bread hath in it more than the substance which our eyes behold; this Cup hallowed with solemn benediction availeth to the endless life and welfare both of soul and body;* in that it serveth as well for a medicine to heal our infirmities and purge our sins, as for a sacrifice of thanksgiving. With touching it sanctifieth, it enlighteneth with belief; it truly conformeth us unto the Image of Jesus Christ. *What these elements are in themselves, it skilleth not; it is enough, that to me which take them they are the Body and Blood of Christ.* His promise in witness hereof sufficeth; His word He knoweth which way to accomplish. Why should any cogitation possess the mind of a faithful communicant but this, O my God, Thou art *True*—O my soul, thou art *happy*[c]?"

[c] Ibid. p. 67. §. 5. Dr. Faussett observes, "Be it remembered *we do not swear by Hooker,* any more than we do by the rhetorical figures of Chrysostom, or the superstitious credulity of Cyprian." p. x. Who says we are bound to do so? But it is rather hard to be so severe with those who exercise their private judgment in *agreeing,* as he in *disagreeing,* with these great Saints.

What a contrast do glowing thoughts like these present to such teaching as has been too much in esteem among us of late years! For instance, to glean from your pages the few notices of your own opinion which are scattered there; what a difference there is between "visible symbols" of "His *absent* Body and Blood," and "Mysteries which, as nails, *fasten us to His very Cross;*" between "the communion of the *benefits* of His sufferings and death," and "Holy Mysteries imparting not grace only, but *besides*, even in *true and real* though mystical manner, the *Very Person* of our Lord Himself, *whole, perfect, and entire;*" between "signs *attended by the blessings* of Christ" and "*doth any man doubt* but that even from the *flesh* of Christ our *very bodies* do receive" everlasting "life;" between "the body and blood of Christ" not "spiritually included in the elements" but "*spiritually received* by the faithful," and "Bread which hath in it *more than the substance* which our eyes behold," "a *ghostly substance*," "an *invisible meat!*" Alas! what a decrepiture has come on us since Hooker's day! "How has the fine gold become dim!" How has the promise of the spring played us false in the summer! How have the lean kine eaten up the fat kine, and the thin ears stifled the full ones! What a spiritual famine, or rather what locusts and cankerworms are our portion! The olive-tree can be content with its own fatness, and the fig-tree

with its sweetness, and the vine reckons it much to "cheer God and man;" but the thin and empty ears of Zurich and Geneva think it scorn unless they devour and make a clean end of the pleasant and fair pastures of Catholic doctrine, which are our heritage:

> Interque nitentia culta
> Infelix lolium et steriles dominantur avenæ.

Indeed, the change, which the tone of our theology has undergone in the last two centuries, is almost too much for belief. On the one hand we find Hooker, earnest in vindicating even the Zuinglians from the charge of denying that Christ's Person as well as His grace, His Person whole and entire, is in the Lord's Supper, and Cosin confident in the agreement of *all* Protestants in the same doctrine; and on the other we witness, not Zuinglians merely and Calvinists abjuring it, but even the Margaret Professor of Divinity in Oxford unable even in thought to distinguish it from Consubstantiation, considering it "highly objectionable and dangerous;" and in spite of Hooker and Cosin, denying that individuals holding it, are "safe and consistent members of the Church of England." However, it is out of place to lament over these things, at a time when one trusts they are (as it were) at low water mark and the tide is turning. It is more to the purpose to remove every obstacle, however small, to its natural return; and under this

feeling I proceed to notice the only argument you use against the Real Presence, which has any plausibility.

You state it thus; "The case of the profane Corinthians is a sufficient proof that they had never heard of Transubstantiation. Had St. Paul inculcated upon them that doctrine or *any other modification of the Real Presence* of Christ's Body and Blood in the elements of Bread and Wine, their conduct would have been not simply incredible, but morally impossible." p. 18. Let us then consider the state of the case.

Whether it was possible for men believing that in drinking of "the Cup of blessing" they communicated in Christ's blood, to drink of that Cup to intoxication, I need not determine, for I do not think the Corinthians did. Yet if I must answer, it is enough to say, that, in truth, as no assignable limits can be put to the self-delusion and perverseness of the human heart, it would not surprise me if they did. The sins of the Israelites, such as the golden calf, murmuring at the manna, or looking into the ark; the dreadful history of Balaam, and the waywardness of Jonah; exhibit far stronger instances of inconsistency, than could have been anticipated beforehand as possible: and if human nature can go so far beyond our anticipations, I do not see why it should not go further. There is nothing to shew that the intoxication in question had occurred often, or was intentional; and I think many

persons will recollect particular occasions, when their own conduct before and after the Holy Communion has been such as to fill them with astonishment, as well as dismay, ever since. I do not then see any reason for deciding, that had any very sacred idea been connected with the Eucharist in the minds of the Corinthians, they must have abstained from profaning it. None but very good men have a right to say, that such excess in spite of their knowledge was impossible; and since the majority of men are not such, I think that, plausible as the objection in question is at first sight, yet, even when made the most of, it will not weigh with the majority.

Have we never heard in our own times of the most dreadful sins committed in prayer-meetings? Cannot persons possibly be betrayed, while the name of Christ is on their lips, into deeds of darkness?

Again, is there any thing more terrible than instances of persons, while they lie, calling on God to strike them dead if they are lying? Yet are not instances recorded of the sin and the infliction? A monument is set up at Devizes in memory of such a dreadful occurrence. If we cannot help acknowledging that the one enormity has occurred, I see no reason for deciding that the other cannot occur. I do not say which is the greater sin; but it does seem as if one might more easily be seduced into fancying sensual indulgence to be a part of

religion, and the excitement arising from excess to be devotional feeling, than into taking a false oath, and calling on Almighty God to curse and smite us for it.

But let us take the very case in question. Your passage, as I have quoted it, would represent, that no one can believe in the Real Presence, yet be guilty of any gross profaneness as regards it. In one sense this is undeniable; for if a man really was profane towards Christ, he might be said not really to believe, but in professing the doctrine to be using words which he did not master. But that persons may be taught, and profess, and to a certain extent (one cannot say how much) believe the doctrine, and yet profane it, seems to me clear from passages in St. Cyprian and St. Chrysostom, to go no further. They certainly did believe and inculcate the Real Presence, yet they speak of most grievous disorders as attending the Holy Sacrament in their time and among them. If then in their age the Christians of Antioch or Carthage could believe in it, yet profane it, I do not see why the Christians of Corinth might not; I do not see why the Corinthians' profaning it is a proof that they did not profess it. I will quote passages from these two Fathers on the subject, and that the rather, because I am not unwilling to corroborate what I have already said on the subject of the doctrine itself, by shewing what is the concordant testimony concerning it given by men distinct in countries and

ages, but fellows in Christian reputation, the one a glorious martyr, the other the first divine of the Eastern Church.

The following passage from St. Cyprian's *De Lapsis*, which is a discourse on the necessity of adequate repentance on the part of those who had fallen, shews at once his sense of the "dignity of that Holy Mystery, and the great peril of the unworthy receiving thereof."

"It is an ill-instructed physician," he says, "who puts a tender hand to the swoln edges of wounds, and by sparing increases the poisonous matter lodged deep within the body. The wound must be opened and pierced, and by a sterner treatment the ulceration must be cut away. Cry and shriek and complain as the sick man may, impatient at the pain, yet he will thank you afterwards when he feels that he is restored. In fact, dearest brethren, a slaughter of a new sort has made its appearance; and as though the storm of persecution had fallen short in its fury, there has come upon its burden a deceitful evil and a smiling mischief under the name of mercy. Contrary to the vigour of the Gospel, contrary to the Law of our Lord and God, by the presumption of certain individuals, communion is opened to the thoughtless, a peace void and vain, perilous to the giver, profitless to the receiver. They seek not a patient recovery, nor the true remedy of satisfaction. Penitence is rejected from men's breasts; the remembrance of the most

heinous and extreme sins is put away. The wounds of the dying are smoothed over, and the mortal sore, rankling in the very depth of the vitals, is said to have no anguish and concealed. Men turn from the devil's altars; they approach to the Lord's Sacrament with foul and tainted hands; still overcharged with the poisonous idol-feasts, with throats breathing their crime, and redolent of deadly infection, they rush upon the Lord's Body, in spite of the protest of Holy Scripture, saying, 'They that be clean shall eat of the flesh; but the soul that eateth of the sacrifices of the peace-offerings that pertain unto the Lord, having his uncleanness upon him, even that soul shall be cut off from his people;' while the Apostle adds, 'Ye cannot drink of the Cup of the Lord and of the cup of devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and of the table of devils;' and further threatens and denounces the contumacious and obstinate, saying, 'Whosoever eateth the Bread or drinketh the Cup of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord.' In scorn and contempt of such warnings, before they have made amends for their sins, before making confession for their offences, before purging their consciences by the priest's sacrifice and laying on of hands, before gaining peace for an offence against an angered and threatening Lord, a violence is offered to His Body and Blood, and they sin worse the second time by hand and mouth than when they denied Him. . . . . What good opinion can you have of him, what

fear, what faith can you ascribe to him, whom neither terror has corrected, nor persecution itself reformed? The high and stiff neck has fallen, yet is not bent; the swelling and proud heart is overcome, yet not broken. Fallen it still threats against the upright, and wounded against the whole; and displays a sacrilegious anger against the Priests, because it may not without ado receive the Lord's Body with defiled hands, and drink the Lord's Blood with polluted mouth. And O! for thy utter madness, frantic man! thou art angry with him who strives to keep thee off from God's anger; thou threatenest him who entreats for thee the Lord's mercy, who feels thy wound which thou feelest not, who sheds tears for thee which perchance thou sheddest not thyself. Thou art still adding burden and weight to thy offence; yet thinkest thou, when thou wilt not be reconciled to the Rulers and Priests of God, that the Lord can be at peace with thee?"

So far he describes the *profanation;* next he proceeds more fully to give his own view of *the depth of the Sacramental Mystery.* "Listen to what I witness upon my own eyesight. Some parents who were making their escape, in the thoughtlessness of terror, left behind them at nurse an infant daughter, whom the nurse, finding on her hands, made over to the public authorities. Unable from its tender years to eat flesh, they gave it, at an idol's altar to which the crowd were flocking, bread dipped

in wine, being, be it observed, the remains of what had been used for sacrificing the souls of back-sliders. The mother afterwards got back her child; but it could as little tell what had been done, as it could understand or prevent it. Through ignorance, then, it fell out, that, while we were sacrificing, the mother brought it in with her. However, the child, though in the midst of the saints, could not bear our prayers and worship; it was one while convulsed with crying, then was tossed about as on a sea of passionate feeling; the babe's soul thus confessing in that simple age, by such signs as were given it, its consciousness of the deed. When, however, the usual rites were finished, and the Deacon began to present the Cup to the communicants, and in due course its turn came, the little one, under the instinctive feeling of God's Majesty, turned its face away, pressed its lips together, and refused the Cup. The Deacon persevered, and in spite of its opposition forced on it the Sacrament of the Cup. Then followed a sobbing and a vomiting. The Eucharist *could not remain* in a body and mouth which had been defiled. *The draught which had been consecrated in the Blood of the Lord* made its way from an inside which had been desecrated. *Such is the power, such the majesty* of the Lord; the secrets of darkness are laid open under His light, and God's Priest could not be deceived in crimes however hidden."

Now, we know, the Church has long relinquished

the practice of infant communion; so far then the passage does not now concern us. And many persons will see nothing miraculous in the above occurrence; and will consider St. Cyprian's language about sacerdotal power extravagant; and about the necessity of penance "gloomy" and unmerciful; I differ from them wholly; yet they may hold their opinion, for what it matters at present. I quote the passage for this purpose; to shew that the Church may teach that the Lord's Body and Blood are given in the Lord's Supper, and yet that men may come without due reverence to it.

St. Chrysostom will shew this still more vividly in the following exhortation to a more reverent attendance on the Ordinance: "I know," he says, "that many among us will be coming to this Holy Table from the custom of the Feast. And indeed it were right, as I have often said before, not to observe feasts in which the Communion formed a part, without cleansing the conscience, and then touching the Holy Sacrifice. For he who is under guilt and unclean, not even on a festival is at liberty to partake that Holy and Dreadful Flesh; but he who is pure and has wiped away his transgressions by careful penitence, both on a festival and always is at liberty to partake those Divine Mysteries, and worthy to enjoy the gifts of God." Then after saying that on a feast day, numbers thought they might come in their sins to the Holy Table, he proceeds to speak of a sin in which "all"

were involved. "What is that sin? this, the approaching without dread (φρίκης), but kicking, hitting, in a passion, calling out, reviling, shoving those next to them, all in confusion. I have often noticed this, and will speak of it again and again, ... Why in such a tumult? tell me, good man, why in such a hurry? stress of business, it seems, urges thee; and hast thou in that hour any thought at all of having business? dost thou at all recollect that thou art on earth? thinkest thou that thou art with man? What a heart of stone, to think at such a season that thou art standing on earth, and not singing with Angels, with whom thou didst offer up that mystical strain, with whom thou didst pour forth that hymn of victory to God?" After blaming their leaving church before the end of the service, he continues; "What art thou doing; good man? Christ is present, the Angels are standing by, that dreadful Table is spread out, thy brethren are still entering into the Mysteries, yet thou thyself dost depart abruptly." Then after comparing such conduct to that of Judas, who did not wait for the hymn of thanksgiving after the Supper, he continues; "And now, beloved, let us dwell upon this, let us meditate on it, fearing the judgment which came on him. Christ Himself gives to thee of His flesh; yet dost thou requite Him not in word even? what, not return thanks even for what thou hast received? but, while you turn to prayer after dinner on the enjoyment of bodily

food, yet, when partaking spiritual food which surpasses the whole creation seen and unseen, thou, a man and of a base nature, yet remainest not to return thanks in word and deed? . . . . . They are called and they are Mysteries; where there are Mysteries, there is deep silence; let us then in much silence, in all good order, in befitting reverence, touch this Holy Sacrifice, &c.[d] "

Lest it should be objected, that St. Chrysostom's view of the Holy Eucharist itself does not here appear so much as of its profanation, I subjoin a few sentences from his comment on John vi. " We become one body; 'members,' as is said, 'from His flesh and from His bones.' Let the initiated attend to what I am saying. In order then that we might be so, not in the way of love only, but might in very deed be poured into that flesh, (for this takes place through the food which He has vouchsafed us, wishing to shew us the desire He feels for us,) therefore He has united Himself with us, and has *diffused His body into us* that we might be one thing, as if a body united to a head . . . . . Christ then . . . . to bring us into a closer love, and shew the desire which He feels for us, has not merely given Himself to be seen of those who long after Him, but so, that they should even *touch*, *eat*, *imprint*

[d] De Bapt. Christi, c. 4. (ii. 374. A.) vid. et in Nativ. c. 7. (364. E.) de S. Philogon. c. 4. (i. 449. E. et seqq.) in 1 Cor. H. 27. c. 3. (x. 245.) et c. 5. (247, 248.) in Rom. xvi. Hom. 30. (ix. 739. E.)

their teeth in His flesh, be united to Him, and satisfy their full desire. As lions then breathing fire, so let us retire from that Table, becoming dreadful to the devil, dwelling on our Head, and on the love which He has shewed concerning us." Whether this doctrine, which I believe to be most sacred and divine, yet not to approximate to the doctrine of transubstantiation, (for not a word is said about the Bread and Wine being taken away, and the Sacred Realities of the Supper being immediately exposed to our senses,) whether this doctrine is true or not, is nothing to the purpose here; what I bring it to shew is, that a teacher might teach the Real Presence, yet hearers profane it; and if this was the case with St. Chrysostom and the people of Antioch, it might be true of St. Paul and the Corinthians.

The circumstance then of persons professing that the cup of blessing is really the communication of the Lord's Blood is no safeguard against very heinous acts of sacrilege towards it; nor the circumstance of their profaning it, a proof that they do not believe in it. Indeed, does not the punishment inflicted on the offending Corinthians imply some dreadful profanation of something very sacred? Ananias and Sapphira were struck dead for lying to the Holy Ghost; the unworthy communicant is "weak and sickly," or "sleeps," that is, is visited by death. If we suppose that he does profane the Lord's Body and Blood, the punishment is intel-

ligible; it is not intelligible, if his lightness of mind is shewn towards a mere commemorating or means of appropriating Christ's merits. Death seems like the punishment of blasphemy; there is no blasphemy, whatever sin there be, in turning religious feasting into excess. Again, the phrases "eating and drinking judgment unto himself," as not "discerning the Lord's body," and being "guilty of the body and blood of the Lord," certainly do seem to imply some special act of blasphemy, of which the doctrine of the Real Presence does, and the doctrine of a mere appropriation does not, supply a sufficient explanation[c].

So much on the general question; but in matter of fact there does not seem any good reason for supposing that, strictly speaking, the excess in question was occasioned by the consecrated Cup; nor is such the interpretation given to the passage by St. Chrysostom, and other ancient commentators. In those early times it would appear, that the celebration of the Eucharist was often the first act of

[c] Dr. Faussett notices as "a singular fact," and an "instructive coincidence," that "this is the identical argument of the avowed Papist Dr. Wiseman," at the same time not insinuating that "Mr. Newman has actually borrowed his weapon" from him, but has been led to it from "instinctive sympathy." p. xi. Does Dr. F. imagine that no opponent of the Established Church, or again, that no friend of certain opinions which he dislikes as much as myself, would agree with *him* in (what I call) his explaining away Ignatius' use of the word Altar? and would he like to be accused in consequence of having an "instinctive sympathy" with Dissenter or Latitudinarian? Would he like to be classed with Schleusner, whom he refers to? p. v.

that social meal which Christians partook when they met together. Men under every Dispensation, on so meeting together, had taken as a sort of firstfruits, a select portion of the means of animal life and innocent cheerfulness, which God had given them, and had solemnly rendered them back to Him, in grateful acknowledgment of His bounty to them, and with prayer that they might be blessed to them, not only for bodily nourishment, but as interesting them in His favour. Such were the sacrifices of thanksgiving among the Jews; and Christ retained the ordinance in His Church, only annexing to it a higher meaning, and more varied purposes, and more sacred benefits. The feast of God's visible good gifts continued; but it was held chiefly for the poorer members of the Church, and furnished by the more wealthy,—in accordance with the command, "When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbours, lest they also bid thee again, and a recompense be made thee. But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind; and thou shalt be blessed, for they cannot recompense thee, for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just." And, whereas the choicest produce, whether of the earth, or of flocks or herds, had been selected for the sacred rite in the former sacrifices, the appointed materials of the Christian offering are Bread and Wine, the chief stays of bodily life;

and whereas the sacrifice had been both an acknowledgment to God, and a pledge of favour from Him, these holy elements were this and much more, at once a thankful remembrance and a symbolical pleading before Him of that all-sufficient Sacrifice which had once been offered on the Cross, and next, the actual means by which that Sacrifice is brought home in spirit and in truth to each believer.

The original rite then consisted of two parts; oblations of the good gifts of God were made freely by all who had the means; from these one portion was set apart and used for the Sacramental rite which came first, and then immediately a social meal followed, in which it was the rejoicing and glory of the rich to minister to the poor. And thus the Sacrament and the feast, being continuous, and forming parts of one religious service, which passed off from the most solemn act of worship to a social intercourse between Christians, are occasionally spoken of as one, and it is difficult to separate between them. Traces of some such connection we see even in the Gospels and Acts. Even on its institution, the Holy Eucharist was united to a social meal; though the meal came first. Again, when our Saviour, as He sat at meat, "took bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them[e]," was this the Holy Sacrament or not? it would seem to be the Sacrament *in* or *at* a meal. Again, we hear of St. Paul at Troas "breaking bread, and

[e] Luke xxiv. 35.

eating and talking a long while, even till break of day;" but for our knowledge of the rite otherwise, there would be nothing to shew that this was more than a mere religious meal. And in like manner, though there may be a question raised about it, some persons will think that even on board ship, when "he took bread, and gave thanks to God in presence of them all," and "brake it, and began to eat," he was, unknown to those among whom he was a prisoner, partaking of the secret treasure which God had prepared for believers. Thus the celebration of the Eucharist seems to have sanctified the social meal.

When then the Corinthians are said to have committed excess, there is no reason for supposing that the consecrated elements were the materials of it; rather the meal, which followed, which ought to have been a frugal repast, not to satisfy hunger so much as to be an opportunity of mutual friendliness, nor for the rich but for the poor, was made a mere animal refreshment or carnal indulgence, altogether out of character with a religious meeting. Hence he says, "What, have ye not houses to eat and drink in? or despise ye the Church of God, and shame them that have not," i. e. that are poor? It must be remarked, moreover, that one is granting more than necessary in allowing that the word translated "is drunken" has strictly that meaning. It is the word in the Septuagint version in Gen. xliii. 34. which our Translation renders "they drank and

were merry with him." Joseph's brethren eat and drank freely, indulged themselves as men who had met with unexpected good; which need not imply gross intemperance. And such seems to have been the sin of the Corinthians; they turned a religious meeting into a mere festivity, and thus evidenced a state of mind which could not have, which had not, seriously and reverently taken part in the High Mystery with which it commenced. They who could indulge upon wine which had been offered up to God, and in part consecrated and made to them His blood, could not have really come in faith to that offering, consecration, and communion.

The feast I have been describing seems to have been the same as was called Agape, or the feast of charity, and is alluded to by Jude in a passage which corroborates what has been said. He mentions certain heretics who among their other sins committed in their love-feasts the same kind of fault as the Corinthians. "There are spots in your feasts of charity, when they feast with you, *feeding themselves without fear;*" words which are parallel to St. Peter's, concerning those who "shall receive the reward of unrighteousness, as they that count it pleasure to riot in the day-time. Spots they are and blemishes, sporting themselves with their own deceivings, while they feast with you."

Such abuses as these, whether from the intrusion of heretics or the frailness of Christians, led to a speedy suppression of the Agape, as far as the Church

could do so. But the practice lingered on in one shape or other for some centuries. The growth of the Christian body brought it into contact in various ways with heathenism; and those excesses, which had been in favour with a gross populace before their conversion, were introduced into it by means of the Agape. Even at the end of the fourth century, St. Austin had to defend the Church against Faustus the Manichee, who maintained, on the ground of such irregularities, that the practice itself had had a heathen origin. In his reply he allows that the feast was abused, but he traces it to its original source, the Apostolic feast of charity, the real object of which was to provide a meal for the poor[f]. Shortly before St. Ambrose had succeeded in suppressing it at Milan; but in Greece it continued even as late as the seventh century, as we learn from the Council in Trullo, which renewed against it a Canon passed at Laodicea in the fourth.

However, though such was the perversion and consequent inexpedience of this primitive feast, and such the earnestness with which the Church even in the Apostles' days set herself against it, yet it must not be supposed that it never was any thing but a scandal. In some of the descriptions left us of it by Antiquity, it appears as an innocent, or rather a beautiful and impressive ordinance. St. Chrysostom's account of it is very nearly the same

[f] Vid. August. in Faust. xx. 21.

as what I have been drawing out. He observes that the first Christians had all things in common; and that when the distinction of property came to be observed, which took place even in the Apostles' time, then this usage remained as a sort of shadow and symbol of it; that on certain days, after Sermon, Prayers, and Holy Communion, they did not break up at once, but took part rich and poor in a common feast, the rich supplying provisions, the poor feasting[g]. St. Chrysostom seems to speak of the earliest times; for shortly after or in other parts of the Church the feast seems to have been delayed till the evening. Pliny in his celebrated Letter to Trajan speaks of Christians as first "meeting on a certain stated day before it was light," and "addressing Christ in prayer as some God," and "binding themselves with a solemn oath" to keep the commandments, and next as "separating and then re-assembling and eating in common a harmless meal." Tertullian says the same thing in his Apology, and an extract from him will serve to shew how suitable a sequel to the Lord's Supper the feast might be made. He has been observing upon a calumny which was urged against the Christians, concerning the *expense* of their entertainments, and urging that such a charge came with a bad grace from the pagans whose religious rites were notoriously prodigal; then he proceeds,—"Yet the only complaint which is made is at the

[g] Vid. references above, p. 85.

single meal of the Christians. Our Supper sufficiently shews its meaning by its very name. It is called by a term which in Greek signifies love. Whatever may be its cost, an expense incurred in the cause of religion is in fact a gain, since by this refreshment we assist all who are in need ; not in the manner in which parasites with you eagerly expose themselves to every kind of indignity and ill-usage, which the licentiousness of the banquet may inspire, to gratify their appetite ; but with the full conviction that God more especially regards the poor.

" If," he proceeds, " the cause of our feast be honourable, consider the order of the rest of our regulations, how appropriate it is to the duties of religion. It admits nothing indecorous, nothing indecent. We sit not down to eat, until prayer to God be made, as it were, the first morsel. We eat as much as will satisfy hunger, and drink as much as is useful for the temperate. We commit no excess, for we remember that even during the night we are to make our prayers to God. Our conversation is that of men who are conscious that the Lord hears them. After water is brought for the hands, and lights, we are invited to sing to God, according as each one can propose a subject from the Holy Scriptures, or of his own composing. This is the proof in what manner we have drunk. Prayer in like manner concludes the feast. Thence we depart, not to join a crowd of disturbers of the

peace, nor to follow a troop of brawlers, nor to break out in any excess of wanton riot; but to maintain the same staid and modest demeanour, as if we were departing, not from a supper, but from a lecture[h]."

And now enough has been said concerning the primitive Agape or Feast of Charity, a sacred rite yet a social meal,—so far a bodily refreshment as to become an occasion of excess, and so far under the shadow of the Sacramental feast as to make that excess sacrilege. Such an excess is spoken of by St. Jude and St. Peter, and in both Apostles stands connected with divine judgments; why then should it not be the sin of the Corinthians? and if so, what is there more heinous, than unhappily we witness in other times and places, in persons first partaking the Lord's Supper, and afterwards proceeding to excess, and thus shewing that they had partaken in a light and thoughtless spirit *because* they proceed to excess?

I regret I cannot close this Letter without something like a protest respecting one subject. There

[h] Apolog. 39. Mr. Chevallier's Translation has been borrowed, who adds the following beautiful passage from St. Cyprian. Et quoniam feriata jam quies, ac tempus est otiosum, quicquid inclinato jam sole in vesperam diei superest, ducamus hanc diem læti; nec sit vel hora convivii gratiæ cælestis immunis. Sonat psalmos convivium sobrium; et ut tibi tenax memoria est, vox canora, aggredere hoc munus ex more. Magis carissimos pasces, si sit nobis spiritalis auditio; prolectat aures religiosa mulcedo. Ad Don. fin.

is nothing unbecoming in any one, who has means of judging, interposing when he sees an ordinance of the Church disparaged, and I think your tone as regards mortification and penance, is such as to discourage persons from obeying certain rules of the Church respecting them. I much regret that, while censuring "rigid mortifications and painful penances," you have not given us to understand whether you mean "*rigid* mortifications and *painful* penances" or "mortifications and penances," as such; whether you object to them in toto, or only in excess. I wish, when speaking of "self-abasement" as Papistical, and of "*gloomy* views of sin after Baptism," you had said what views of it are at once appropriate to backsliders and yet not gloomy; whether you consider repentance itself cheerful or gloomy; whether every feeling must be called gloomy which is mixed with fear; whether every purpose is gloomy which leads to self-chastisement; whether every self-abasement savours of Popery, or what those are which do not so savour; whether any self-abasements are pleasant; whether the "indignation, fear, and revenge," of the Corinthians was pleasant or "gloomy;" or whether St. Paul's "bruising his body" was a mortification; whether (to come to our Church's words and rules) to confess an "*intolerable* burden of sins" is "gloomy;" whether it is pleasant to be "*tied and bound* with the chain of our sins," or to be "*grieved* and *wearied* with their burden;" whether "to *bewail*

our own sinfulness" is a cheerful exercise; whether absolution does not imply a previous bond; whether "days of fasting or abstinence" are pleasant or "painful;" whether the "godly discipline," the restoration of which, as we yearly protest, is much to be wished, would not be "rigid" and "painful," and calculated to "call us back at once to the darkest period of Roman superstition;" whether "turning to God with weeping, fasting, and praying," and "subduing by abstinence the flesh to the Spirit," is or is not calculated "hopelessly to alarm and repel those abettors of *low and rationalistic views* of the Sacramental Ordinances, whom it is our especial object to win and persuade to a *saving faith* in their genuine and inestimable importance."

Nor is this all; what the Church has enjoined, her most distinguished sons, of whatever school of thought, have practised. Let me then lay out some additional matter, besides her authorized documents, the details of which I wish duly adjusted with those vague and frightful words, "rigour," and "gloom," and "pain," and "Popery," to which otherwise the untaught may refer them.

(1.) I begin with Jewel, because you have a zeal for him:—"Being forewarned to leave the hold of his body . . . he did not after the custom of most men seek by all means violently to keep possession . . . to surfeit the senses, and stop all the passages of the soul. No; but by *fasting*, labour, and *watching*, he openeth them wider." *Life*, c. 32 fin.

(2.) B. Gilpin says to a friend, "As for the arguments touching *fasting*, *God forbid* that either I or any one should deny, yea *rather we exhort all persons* to the practice of it, only we desire to have the superstition and wicked opinions removed." *Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog.* iv. 148.

(3.) Hooker. "There might be many more and just occasions taken to speak of his books, which none ever did or can commend too much; but I decline them, and hasten to an account of his Christian behaviour and death at Borne; in which place he continued his customary rules of *mortification* and *self-denial;* was much in *fasting*, frequent in meditation and prayers, enjoying those blessed returns, which only men of *strict* lives feel and know, and of which men of loose and godless lives cannot be made sensible; for spiritual things are spiritually discerned." *Life*, ed. Keble, vol. i. p. 94.

(4.) Herbert. "Mr. Herbert took occasion to say, 'One cure for these distempers would be, for the Clergy themselves *to keep the Ember-weeks strictly*, and beg of their parishioners to join with them in *fasting* and prayers for a more religious Clergy.'" *Wordsw. E. B.* vol. iv. p. 538.

Again: "This Lent I am forbid utterly to eat any fish, so that I am fain to diet in my chamber at my own cost; *for in our public halls, you know, is nothing but fish and whit-meats: out of Lent also, twice a week, on Fridays and Saturdays, I must do so,* which yet sometimes I fast." *Ibid.* p. 560.

(5.) Hammond. "He both admitted and solemnly invited all sober persons to his familiarity and converse; and beside that, received them to *his weekly office of Fasting and Humiliation.*" Life by Fell, p. 50.

"And now, though his physicians had earnestly forbidden his *accustomed Fastings*, and his own weaknesses gave forcible suffrages to their advice; yet he resumed his *rigours*, esteeming this calamity such a one as admitted *no exception*, which should not be outlived, but that it became men to be *martyrs* too, and deprecate even in death." *Ibid.* p. 73.

(6.) Bull. "Now Mr. Bull did not satisfy himself only with giving notice to his parishioners, which he could not well omit without neglecting his duty, but he led them to the observation of such holy institutions by his own example. For he had so far a regard to these holy-days, as to cause all his family to repair to the church at such times; and on *the days of fasting and abstinence*, the *necessary refreshments of life were adjourned from the usual hour till towards the evening.* He was too well acquainted with the practice of the primitive Christians, to neglect such observances as they made instrumental to piety and devotion, and *had too great a value for the injunctions of his mother the Church of England*, to disobey where she required a compliance; but above all, he was too intent upon making advances in the Christian life, to

omit a duty *all along observed by devout men*, and *acceptable to God* under the Old and New Testament, both as it was helpful to their devotion, and became a part of it." *Life by Nelson*, ed. Burton, p. 54.

(7.) Leighton. "*He had no regard to his person, unless it was to mortify it* by a constant *low diet*, that was *like a perpetual fast*." Burnet's Lives, p. 282. ed. Jebb.

(8.) Kettlewell too "observed likewise the *days of fasting and humiliation*, both those appointed by the Church, and those which were enjoined by the civil authorities. Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent he *abstained from flesh and drank small beer*, according to the Canon." *Life*, part ii. p. 24.

(9.) Lastly, Ken, in his Sermon on Daniel, thus speaks: "I do not exhort you to follow them [the ancients] any further than either our climate or our constitutions will bear; but we may easily follow Daniel, in *abstaining from wine*, and from the more *pleasurable* meats, and such an abstinence as this, *with such a mourning* for our own sins, and the sins of others, and the proper exercise of a primitive spirit *during all the weeks of Lent.* For what is Lent, in its original institution, but a spiritual conflict, to subdue the flesh to the Spirit, to beat down our bodies and to bring them into subjection? What is it, but a *penitential martyrdom* for so many weeks together, which we suffer for our own and others' sins! A devout soul, that

is able duly to observe it, fastens himself to the Cross on Ash Wednesday, and hangs crucified by contrition all the Lent long; that having felt in his closet the *burthen and the anguish*, the *nails and the thorns*, and tasted the *full of his own sins*, he may by his own crucifixion be better disposed to be crucified with Christ on Good Friday, and most tenderly sympathize with all the dolours, and pressures, and anguish, and torments, and desertion, infinite, unknown, and unspeakable, which God incarnate endured, when He bled upon the Cross for the sins of the world; that being purified by repentance, and made conformable to Christ crucified, he may offer up a pure oblation at Easter, and feel the power, and the joys, and the triumph of his Saviour's resurrection." Sermon on Daniel.

I think then, if I may say so with due respect, that those who wish to obey their Church as regards fasting and abstinence, yet fear that "revival of Popish error" to which these practices tend, have a claim on you to draw some broad lines of distinction, or, in your own phrase, to "*devise* some *limits*," which may enable them safely to do the one yet not encourage the other; lest they be saved from the "natural consequence" of such practices only by what you call elsewhere "a happy inconsistency," and "*for the present;*" and lest "their credulous flocks" at length fall under "the yoke of spiritual bondage," from which we have been set free by the Reformation.

O that we knew our own strength as a Church! O that instead of keeping on the defensive, and thinking it much not to lose our remnant of Christian light and holiness, which is getting less and less, the less we use it, instead of being timid, and cowardly, and suspicious, and jealous, and panic-struck, and grudging, and unbelieving, we had the heart to rise, as a Church, in the attitude of the Spouse of Christ and the Dispenser of His grace; to throw ourselves into that system of truth which our fathers have handed down even through the worst times, and to use it like a great and understanding people! O that we had the courage and the generous faith to aim at perfection, to demand the attention, to claim the submission of the world! Thousands of hungry souls in all classes of life stand around us; we do not give them what they want, the image of a true Christian people, living in that Apostolic awe and strictness which carries with it an evidence that they are the Church of Christ. This is the way to withstand and repel the Romanists; not by cries of alarm, and rumours of plots, and dispute, and denunciation, but by living up to the creeds, the services, the ordinances, the usages of our own Church[a] without fear of consequences, without fear

[a] Dr. Faussett asks, "why not, up to the precepts of the Gospel also?" p. xii. Let me then amend the phrase thus, "up to the precepts [and doctrines] of the Gospel *as contained* in the creeds, the services, the ordinances, the usages of our own Church."

of being called Papists; to let matters take their course freely, and to trust to God's good Providence for the issue.

And now to conclude. I am quite aware that some of the subjects I have treated might be treated more fully and clearly. But neither the limits of a pamphlet, nor the time allotted me, admitted it. Your Sermon, preached on the 20th of May, did not appear in a published form till yesterday, and the Term ends in a very few days.

I am, Reverend Sir,

Your faithful Servant,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

Oriel College, June 22, 1838.

NOTE.

The following is the passage of Beveridge, spoken of in p. 42. " D. Cyprianus nullo alio, quantum memini, præterquam *Altaris* nomine mensam Domini indigitare solet, isto autem sæpissime. . . . . Ante eum Tertullianus et Eucharistiæ celebrationem *sacrificium* et mensam Domini *aram Dei* nuncupavit. . . . Eodem sensu voce *Altare* alibi utitur, dicens &c. . . . . Apud Altare, scilicet, sive sacram mensam publicæ orationes antiquitus celebratæ sunt. Ante Tertullianum, *ipse etiam Ignatius in genuinis et inviolatis suis Epistolis* θυσιαστήριον *in eodem sensu adhibuit*, Ἐὰν μή τις, inquit, ᾖ ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ὑστερεῖται τοῦ

ἄρτου τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ep. ad Eph. et alibi, Μία γὰρ σὰρξ &c. Ep. ad Philad.

Constat itaque mysticam mensam *ab ipsis Apostolorum temporibus* vocatem fuisse θυσιαστήριον, non autem Βωμόν. Hæc enim vox gentibus solis ac Idololatris, illa Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus peculiaris est, neque unquam usurpatur præterquam de Altari quod vero Deo erigitur. Hinc est, quod Origenes, Minutius Felix, Arnobius, aliique Christianos nullos habere Βωμοὺς, nullos Idolorum aras, quemadmodum et nulla Templa, nulla scilicet claustra numinum, qualia omnia fuerunt, vel existimata sunt Ethnicorum Templa, sæpe asseruerunt. Nusquam autem asserunt, eos nec θυσιαστήρια habere, istiusmodi scilicet Altaria quæ corpori sanguinique Christi mystice offerendo inservierunt." Beveridge, Cod. Can. Vind. ii. 10. §. 3, 4. The reader, who is interested on the general subject, will find abundant information both concerning it, and the views of our divines upon it, in Tracts for the Times, No. 81.

THE END.

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My dear Sir,

You have recently addressed a Letter to several of your friends, who, as it would seem, had inquired of you, "Why are you become a Catholic?" Had your reply been confined to the questions in dispute between you and the friends who proposed this inquiry, I should not have interfered in the controversy between you. Of course none could have asked you this question who are themselves "Catholics," or who lay claim to that honourable title. Your Letter, therefore, is ostensibly addressed to those Protestants who have, by their own admission, withdrawn themselves from the communion of the Catholic Church, or who account themselves to have done so. Viewing your Letter in this light, you have insisted upon many important truths, in which every good Catholic will cordially agree with you; and in which, for my own part, instead of appearing as an opponent, I would willingly be a fellow-labourer with you.

In using this language, I beg you will not un-

derstand me to be merely contending about a word. I do indeed think it a very palpable inconsistency in those who profess their belief in "one Catholic Apostolic Church," and who, as members of that Church, pray daily "for the good estate of the Catholic Church," to inquire of one who has separated himself from them, "Why have you BECOME A CATHOLIC?" But this might have been passed over as an erroneous way of speaking, into which some persons inadvertently (though not without fault) have allowed themselves to fall, if you had really confined yourself to the discussion which that question, as addressed to you, lately a clergyman of the Church of England, would seem to imply. You will admit that the inquiry means, "Why have you, who were a clergyman of the Church of England, joined that body of Christians who are in communion with the Church of Rome?" But you must allow me to say, that you have by no means confined yourself to that simple inquiry. A great part of your Letter, and, in my opinion, by far the best part of it, is occupied with a totally different matter; viz. in assigning reasons why all Christians ought to be Catholics, and in shewing the importance and necessity of unity in the Church. In these points all sound members of the Church of England must cordially agree with you. Some, of course, may attach more, some less weight to the arguments which you have advanced; but every one must agree with you in

your aim, and in the desirableness of the objects which you wish to see accomplished.

I complain, then, of the title of your Letter, not merely because of the improper use of a word (though that is not unimportant), but because it really confuses the subject-matter in dispute, and confounds questions which ought to be kept altogether distinct. To shew the reasons why you have relinquished the Protestant notion of unity—as you have well described it, a supposed spiritual unity in the reception of doctrines, in piety, and privileges—is one thing; to shew the reasons why you have left a communion which repudiates this notion of unity, and holds to the Catholic doctrine, is quite another thing; and yet you profess to include both in your answer to the inquiry, "Why are you become a Catholic?"—and this, although the question itself would, of course, be absurd and impossible in the latter case. I now proceed from the title to the contents of your Letter.

You inform us "that in early life you sought admission into that [the Roman] Church, and that but for the interference of the law, being then under age, you should have joined her" (p. 3). You then refer to what no one who knows you can doubt—your sincerity in your subsequent "profession of Protestant principles as a clergyman of the Established Church;" although "the remembrance of devotional feelings you then [in your youth] had never entirely quitted you in subsequent years."

You pass rapidly over the history of your religious life during those years, merely telling us that you were disappointed in not finding such "earnestness of piety" in your "Protestant acquaintance" as you had been led to expect; and that, owing to your belief of greater devotedness existing among the members of the Roman Catholic Church, you had all along "a lingering affection towards them, while you openly condemned what you believed to be the errors of their creed" (p. 5).

You then proceed to state, that "about five years since" you were led to a review of the Jewish economy, and thereby to adopt views of the Church's unity, visibility, order, and government, which were quite new to you.

But here you have omitted to state circumstances which, I have no doubt, seemed to you unimportant, but which must be regarded as exercising a very important influence on your recent change. You do not mention THE SCHOOL OF RELIGION into which you were thrown for by far the larger period of your ministration in the Church of England. This omission, the privilege of formerly enjoying your acquaintance enables me in a measure to supply. You were ordained, I believe, as curate to the Rev. John Scott of Hull, the son of the Calvinistic commentator on the Bible, who inherited, along with his father's piety, the peculiar doctrines of his school. I remember you at that time an ardent, devoted minister, zealously preach-

ing (so-called) low-Church doctrines, a great favourite with Dissenters, and an eloquent speaker at Bible Societies, &c. Your associations, therefore, were peculiarly *ultra-Protestant,* and I think you will not deny that the opinions you generally entertained then were as different from those of the Church of England, as represented in her doctors of highest repute, *e. g.* Hammond, Andrews, Hooker, &c., as are the opinions which you now hold. *I* should say, far more different. Your opinions varied in no essential point from those of Dissenters — Independents, Wesleyans, Baptists, &c. — with whom you associated as brethren, and with whom you joined in religious societies, and, if my memory does not deceive me, I think even in social prayer-meetings.

In a later period of your Protestant life you became the colleague of Mr. Baptist Noel in the ministry of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, whose opinions on "unity" have been put forth in a tract, which attempts to shew that it consists in a sort of spiritual union of all sects and denominations. As you preached in the evening from the same pulpit which he occupied in the morning, it may be concluded that your views were essentially the same with his. You will scarcely object, therefore, to the inference, that at this time, I believe about nine or ten years ago, you were an extreme Protestant, practically and essentially identified with Dissenters in your doctrines and opinions. If any corrobora-

tion of these statements were needed, it might be found in the circumstance, that at one time, and, if my recollection does not fail me, at a time *subsequent* to that above named, you were secretary to the "Religious Tract Society;" a society formed on the express principle, or rather *no-principle,* of a community of all sects and denominations holding some fundamental doctrines.*

Why do I recall these incidents in your religious history? Not, I am sure you will believe, that I may remind you of any thing personally offensive to you, but because a knowledge of these facts is essential in order to shew the nature of your transition from Protestantism to Romanism, and because these circumstances will, in the minds of many persons, afford the best explanation of the change.

When, "about five years since," you discovered the doctrines of the Church's unity and visibility, and, consequently, the utter untenableness of those Protestant notions of unity in which you had been trained, nothing is more natural than that there should have arisen in your mind that strong revulsion of feeling which you describe; and it is nothing very unusual, that, under such circumstances, Rome should have held out to you greater

* It seems that you held the office of Secretary to the Religious Tract Society as lately as the year 1835. *At that time,* therefore, you held the ultra-Protestant notions of unity, which you now so justly repudiate.

attractions than the neglected* and misunderstood communion of the English branch of the Catholic Church. It is nothing new to say that one extreme leads to another, or that the way to Rome is through Geneva. Besides, in your particular case there were your early predilections to help you. So far as can be inferred from your Letter, you never understood, or even attempted to understand, the spirit of the Church in which you were baptized, as illustrated in the life, writings, and devotions of her greatest men. It does not appear that you ever tried the spirits of such men as Hammond, and Andrews, and Hooker, and Ken, and Wilson, and a host of others who might be named. You seem not to have felt the responsibility of taking a step which virtually condemned them; but looking at the Church of England as it now is, without any perception of her true standing and position, and with the experience of some admitted deficiencies in her,† and looking at the Church of Rome, I must say, as you pictured her to yourself, and *not as she really is*, you made your choice accordingly.

And this leads me more particularly to distinguish between the question which has been pro-

* I say "neglected;" for so it may be called while the Christian sacrifice is offered in most churches not more than once a month, and in many much less frequently.

† We may confess with the holy Bishop Andrews, and pray, "Pro ecclesiâ nostrâ, ut quæ in eâ desunt suppleantur."

posed to you by your friends (in answer to which you have said many excellent things), and the question proposed to you in this Letter; to which, though professing to do so, you have really made no answer at all. I admit the force of many, I may say most, of the reasons you assign for becoming "a Catholic." But you have assigned but few reasons (and those, as it appears to me, singularly weak reasons), for leaving the Church of England, and attaching yourself to the communion of Rome in this country. Indeed, from a careful perusal of your Letter, I am led to believe that you have never thoroughly investigated the real grounds of that unhappy schism which rends the Christian Church of the West; otherwise it could scarcely be that, in professing to give the reasons for a clergyman of the Church of England joining communion with Rome, you should quietly assume that which constitutes the real question at issue between the two Churches. Thus, *e. g.*, p. 13, you assert that the Church of Rome is "the same in every essential, almost in every minute particular, which it had been when the English branch first grew from out its sustaining, fostering trunk" [in the sixth century]. And you virtually assert the same thing, pp. 30, 32, where you propose to bring together in conference "St. Augustine, St. Thomas of Canterbury, Archbishop Warham, and Archbishop Howley;" and in p. 33, you make the astounding assertion, that "whether she [the

Church of Rome] be regarded at any time previous or subsequent to the sixteenth century, she is the same now as then *in doctrine and discipline.*" In these passages, and indeed, I may say, throughout your Letter, you assume the point in dispute. You must surely be aware, that instructed members of the Church of England find it impossible to communicate with the Church of Rome, because she now imposes terms of communion which she did not impose in the sixth century. Let your position be granted, and it would indeed be a very strong one; and as you assume it as indisputable, it is no wonder that you should be so well satisfied with the superstructure you build upon it. If the Romish Church is "the same [now] almost in every minute particular which it had been" in the sixth century, your reasoning would be most conclusive; and though individuals, as such, might still shrink from taking the step which you have taken, not being prepared to unite themselves to a mere Romish sect, there are multitudes amongst us who would spare no effort to effect a reconciliation and reunion of the Church of England with the Church of Rome. Therefore I find no difficulty in what you so plausibly put forward respecting the conference of the four archbishops. I have only to request you to *fix the time* for the conference. If you say, the sixth century, then I suppose that Archbishop Howley, desiring the unity of the Church as much then as he does now, would have

been on the side of St. Augustine in communion with the occupant of St. Peter's chair, to which he would have found no impediment. If you fix the nineteenth century as the time of conference, then I should believe that St. Augustine, being a true Catholic, would be now on the side of Archbishop Howley in continuing a resistance to the imposition of novel and uncatholic terms of communion.*

Let us, then, clearly understand wherein we agree, and wherein we differ. We agree in desiring to see the Christian world united. We, with you, wish to have communion with the see of Rome, if Rome were other than she now is. And though we demur to the claim of the Pope's supremacy in the sense which the Romanists contend for it, we do not object to the idea so much insisted upon by you, that, in a united Church, the occupant of St. Peter's chair would be a symbol of the Church's centre of unity. But we differ upon the point which you so quietly assume, viz., that the Church of Rome is the same in almost every minute particular which it had been in the sixth century. Pray, then, address yourself to this point. If you can prove the truth of your assertions, you may anticipate, as the glorious and blessed result,

* In mentioning the four archbishops, it is somewhat curious that you should have left unnoticed the point for which reference to them had been made, viz. THE SUCCESSION. Who now occupies the chair of St. Augustine? and where is the centre of union for the provincial Church of England but in Canterbury?

a reunion of those who have been too long severed from each other. All our best divines have been willing, nay, anxious, to meet you on those terms. Bishop Hall, who could see no way of peace with Rome, would have joined fellowship with her on the ground of a subscription " to the word of God attested in the everlasting Scriptures; to all the primitive creeds; to the four general councils; and to the common judgment of the fathers for six hundred years after Christ." (*Concio ad Clerum*, 1623.) Let Rome meet us on this ground. Let her insist upon nothing as a term of communion which does not come under the golden rule of Vincentius: " Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus," and our " unhappy divisions" might, by God's blessing, come to an end. When, therefore, you tell us (p. 35) that the tenets of the Church of Rome were once viewed by you " as error, though in different degrees dangerous and opposite to the truth of the Gospel;" and that " reluctantly and slowly you came to a different conclusion,"—I think it would have been most german to the object of your letter, and not, as you say, "foreign" to it, to have told us *how* you came to such a conclusion. It seems to me that you cannot otherwise satisfactorily answer the inquiry, Why you have become a Romanist? Pray either disprove the rule of Vincentius, or else shew us that those doctrines and practices which divide

us from Rome were held in the first five or six centuries. Adduce your authorities, and then explain why you once thought these authorities of such little weight. And next, shew us the reasons why, in the first place, you regarded the peculiar tenets of Rome dangerous to the truth of the Gospel; and why, afterwards, you received them as "Catholic verities, and wholesome and blessed truths."

Perhaps you will here expect that I should specify some of the tenets referred to. I will therefore mention one or two, of course merely as specimens, shewing the *kind* of answer which I request you to give. And this is the more necessary, because I perceive that in the very sparing way in which you have touched on any doctrine peculiarly Romish, you have employed such soft and gentle terms as almost to smother the doctrine as commonly received in the Church of Rome. Thus, *e.g.*, you speak of the mass (p. 40): "every instructed Catholic knows and believes it to be the proper doctrine of the mass, that therein is a *propitiatory application* of the sacrifice of Christ for the benefit of the quick and dead." And thus you speak of purgatory, as "her [the Church's] pious recognition of the less perfect departed faithful, whose purification for bliss is still proceeding." Is this doctrine of Rome? In your own words (p. 40), I may ask, "Have words any meaning? Are they

to be considered as designed to communicate distinct ideas or not?" Would any one discover in this soft and ambiguous language, to which even many a Protestant would scarcely object, of "propitiatory *application*," and of "*purification for bliss still proceeding*," the same doctrines as are promulgated in the hard, bold language of Rome in her approved writers on these subjects, or even in her more cautious authorised standards? Why, my dear sir, your language is so different from that of your Church, as almost to lead to the hope that, after all, you are only half a Romanist. But should you unhappily remain where you are, I will venture to predict, that you will soon be compelled to speak more broadly and explicitly.

Let me, then, pointedly ask you one or two questions, bearing upon the inquiry of this Letter. You doubtless once thought purgatory, as held in the Romish Church, to be an error. I would inquire, then, by what means you were led to believe such language as follows justifiable: "We are not ignorant that there are some of these things which we have said do not pertain to faith, which, although they be not defined, cannot be rejected without a mark of temerity, since not only the common doctrine of theologians concerning them (from which it is unlawful for any discreet Catholic to depart without most weighty reason,) is sufficiently known, but also the sense of the Church herself, especially with reference to the *severity of*

the punishments with which souls are *tortured in purgatory.*"*

Do you venture to oppose your judgment to that of this approved doctor? or do you think it a mark of temerity to deny that the souls of the blessed are *tortured* in purgatory?

Again, the Catechism of Trent, on which you pronounce an eulogium, says, "There is a purgatorial fire, in which the souls of the pious are *tormented* for a certain time," &c.† — *ad definitum tempus cruciatæ*, &c. Much more to the same effect, from approved Roman writers, has been adduced by Dr. Pusey in his Letter to Dr. Jelf. Permit me to ask then, Do you believe in a purgatory, not softened down as it is in your Letter, but as it is propounded by these approved writers, in which the souls of the blessed are *tormented with severity of punishment?* or do you decidedly dissent from them?‡

* Perrone, Theologia, tom. iii. p. 321, ed. Rom., quoted by Palmer.

† It is curious to observe how this language is softened down in the *English* translation by Rev. J. Donovan: "The fire of purgatory, in which the souls of just men are cleansed by a temporary punishment," &c.

‡ In case you should more or less have taken your views of Roman Catholic doctrine from Dr. Wiseman, it may be well to attend to Dr. Pusey's caution:—"One does not like to say what seems to be personal, but who will guarantee that Dr. Wiseman's teaching was accounted sound or sufficiently 'Roman?' Report certainly said otherwise, and spoke of doubts and misgivings felt in the highest quarters."—*Letter, &c.*, p. 84.

Once you believed that it was wrong to address any mere creature in language such as follows:—

"Thou art the sure hope of the miserable, truly the mother of the parentless; thou art the relief of the oppressed, the medicine of the weak; *thou art all things to all.*" (*Prosa Missæ de Concept.*) "Rejoice, heavenly Lady, exalt and magnify God thy Saviour, who made thee alone of all thy kind. Thou willedst to call thyself the 'handmaiden' of Jesus Christ, but, as the divine law teaches, *thou art mistress over him;* for right and reason have it that the mother should be set over the son. Therefore pray suppliantly, and *direct with authority,* that, in the eventide of the world, He lead us to the kingdom above." "Thou alone art peerless, whom the Lord chose to be mediatrix between God and man." And in the Office to her, reformed by Pius V.: "Mary, mother of grace, mother of mercy, do thou protect us from the enemy, and receive us at the hour of death." On what ground do you now approve of such language being addressed to the blessed Virgin, and, I suppose, use it in your own devotions?

These passages are quoted by Dr. Pusey in his Letter to Dr. Jelf (p. 208), where a large body of evidence is brought forward, proving incontestably the existence of this fearful practice of the Romish Church, of addressing to creatures language which we dare address to no other than God.

Again; you once believed that it was dangerous,

and more especially for the uneducated, to pray before images, according to the practice of the Roman Church; and I need not remind you how we are warned against the use of them by early Catholic writers, especially St. Austin. How then are you now reconciled to this practice, notwithstanding such warnings?

These instances, then, may serve as specimens of corruption in the Roman communion, suggesting the nature of the reply which is required from you to the question, "Why have you become a Romanist?" We do not need to be told how you arrived at the conviction that unity—visible Catholic unity—is needful. By God's blessing we have been long convinced of this necessity. Nor do we need you to teach us that the younger Church of England should regard with reverence the elder and apostolically founded Church of Rome, and acknowledge the centre of unity for the Christian world to be in Rome, and not in Canterbury. It is our desire, if possible, so to regard her, and so to confess. But we wish to be told how you have discovered those tenets and those practices, which you once thought to be corruptions, and which we still think so, to be no corruptions. We do not pretend to be satisfied with our state—we are not content "to be separated" from brethren—we grieve over "unhappy divisions," and pray that they may be "taken away." We appreciate, we trust, the value of unity. Let Catholic terms of unity be proposed

to us, and we will gladly embrace them — if you can shew that we have not already embraced them. We are willing to confess, and do confess, that a large measure of the blame of disunion lies upon us;* but we dare not add sin to sin by seeking union at the expense of TRUTH. All things short of this we ought to sacrifice for such an object. This we can NEVER sacrifice: and so we commit our cause to God.

I have now to advert to a part of your Letter which I read with great pain. Every thing in your character forbids the thought that you could *intentionally* write with disingenuousness. I will hope, therefore, that the following passage was written inconsiderately. You say—

"Another ground has within the last few years been taken by individuals so devout, so learned, and in every respect so estimable, as to make the novelty of the position they assume yet more startling, from the unquestioned fact of their own Christian conscientiousness. It is this,—*that the doctrines of the*

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* *i. e.* upon members of the Church. Not that the act of separation was the act of the English Church: this is a popular error. It should never be forgotten that no Romish sect had any existence in this country until the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth. The pope then excommunicated the queen, and absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and gave sentence of deposition against her. Such was the unrighteous beginning of that sect to which you have united yourself. At the same time, I will freely confess that we have sinned grievously, widening the breach by unholy and exasperating words applied to Romanists, and especially by assimilating ourselves too much to Protestant sects, and so seeming to acquiesce in the charge of our want of Catholicity.

Catholic Church, generally considered as denied by Protestants, are not really denied by the Anglican Establishment, but that in principle, or tacitly, she admits them all; and that their apparent condemnation by her, in her Thirty-nine Articles, is no condemnation, except of certain practical abuses of them which existed in the sixteenth century. It is, I say, maintained by many, and that publicly, of whose integrity and piety, no more than of their learning and talents, can the least question be raised by all who have the privilege to know them,—that the Anglican Church is truly Catholic as it respects these doctrines, and that no one who subscribes the Thirty-nine Articles is called on to reject purgatory, transubstantiation, invocation of the blessed Virgin Mary and of the saints, the efficacy of the sacrifice of the mass as defined by the Council of Trent, &c. In other words, he may be a Tridentian Catholic at heart, and an Anglican clergyman by profession. This is a startling position, and, as might be supposed, has startled the Established Church throughout her length and breadth—from Berwick-upon-Tweed to the Land's End. A sound has gone forth from Oxford, which has troubled alike the metropolitan at Lambeth and the humble curate in the Welsh mountains. It has penetrated the British senate, (peradventure it may not be unheard in another council-chamber); it certainly has not been unheard in the Vatican. *That the Anglican Established Church is, in her doctrines, essentially one with Rome, seems one of the surprising discoveries of this age of discovery. But such is the purport of the celebrated Tract* 90." Pp. 38, 39.

This passage contains such utter misrepresentations and distortions of the meaning of the writer on whom you are commenting, that, as I have said, it requires all the confidence which your hitherto high and holy character inspires, to prevent most unpleasant inferences. Some allowances may be made, on grounds already stated. You have been so long associated with Dissenters, and other extreme Protestants, in religious teach-

ing, that you may forget, if indeed you ever really understood, the distinction which the Church of England ever draws between what is Catholic and what is merely Roman. But still it does seem strange that you could have given such an account of the purport of Tract 90, when, as it must be presumed, you had before you the author's own account of his meaning, in the following words:—

"I consider that they [the Thirty-nine Articles] *do* contain a condemnation of the authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome on these points; I only say that, whereas they were written before the decrees of Trent, they were not directed against those decrees. The Church of Rome taught authoritatively before those decrees, as well as since. Those decrees *expressed* her authoritative teaching, and they will continue to express it while she so teaches. The simple question is, whether, taken by themselves in their mere letter, they express it; whether, in fact, other senses, short of the sense conveyed in the present authoritative teaching of the Roman Church, will not fulfil their letter, and may not even now, in point of fact, be held in that Church.

"As to the present authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome, to judge by what we see of it in public, I think it goes very far indeed to substitute another Gospel for the true one. Instead of setting before the soul the holy Trinity and heaven and hell, it does seem to me, as a popular system, to preach the blessed Virgin and the saints, and purgatory. If there ever was a system which required reformation, it is that of Rome at this day; or, in other words (as I should call it), Romanism or popery;— or, to use words in which I have only a year ago expressed myself, when contrasting Romanism with the teaching of the ancient Church: 'In antiquity, the main aspect in the economy of redemption contains Christ, the Son of God, the Author and Dispenser of all grace and pardon; the Church His living representative, the sacraments her instruments, bishops her rulers, their

collective decisions her voice, and Scripture her standard of truth. In the Roman schools we find St. Mary and the saints the prominent objects of regard and dispensers of mercy, purgatory or indulgences the means of obtaining it, the pope the ruler and teacher of the Church, and miracles the warrant of doctrine. As to the doctrines of Christ's merits and eternal life and death, these are points not denied (God forbid), but taken for granted and passed by, in order to make way for others of more present, pressing, and lively interest. That a certain change, then, in objective and external religion has come over the Latin, nay, and in a measure the Greek Church, we consider to be a plain historical fact; a change . . . . sufficiently startling to recall to our minds, with very unpleasant sensations, the awful words, 'Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed.'

"On the doctrine of purgatory this received Romanism goes beyond the decrees of Trent, thus: the Council of Trent says, 'there is a purgatory, and the souls there detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful, and especially by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar.'

"This definition does not explain the meaning of the word purgatory, and it is not incompatible with the doctrine of the Greeks; but the Catechism of Trent, which expresses the existing Roman doctrine, says, 'there is a purgatorial *fire*, in which the souls of the pious are *tormented* for a certain time, and expiated, in order that an entrance may lie open to them into their eternal home, into which nothing defiled enters.' And the popular notions go very far beyond this, as the extracts from the homily, Jeremy Taylor, &c., in the Tract, shew.

"Again; the doctrine of pardons is conveyed by the divines of Trent in these words: 'The use of indulgences, which is most salutary to the Christian people, and approved by the authority of councils, is to be retained in the Church:' it does not explain what the word indulgence means: it is unnecessary to observe how very definite and how monstrous is the doctrine which Luther assailed.

"Again; the divines of Trent say, that 'to images are to be paid due honour and veneration;' and to those who honour the sacred volume, pictures of friends and the like, as we all do, I do not see that these very words of themselves can be the subject of objection. Far otherwise, when we see the comment which the Church of Rome has put on them in teaching and practice. I consider its existing creed and popular worship to be as near idolatry as any portion of that Church can be, from which it is said that 'the idols' shall be 'utterly abolished.'

"Again; the divines of Trent say, that 'it is good and useful suppliantly to invoke the saints;' it does not even *command* the practice. But the actual honours paid to them in Roman Catholic countries are, in my judgment, as I have already said, a substitution of a wrong object of worship for a right one.

"Again; the divines at Trent say that the mass is 'a sacrifice truly propitiatory;' words which (considering they add, 'The fruits of the bloody oblation are, through this, most abundantly obtained, so far is the latter from detracting in any way from the former') to my mind have no strength at all, compared with the comment contained in the actual teaching and practice of the Church as regards private masses.

"This distinction between the words of the Tridentine divines and the authoritative teaching of the present Church, is made in the Tract itself, and would have been made in far stronger terms, had I not often before spoken against the actual state of the Church of Rome, or could I have anticipated the sensation which the appearance of the Tract has excited. I say, 'By "the Romish doctrine" is not meant the Tridentine doctrine, because this article was drawn up before the decree of the Council of Trent. What *is* opposed is the *received doctrine of the day*, and, *unhappily, of this day too*, or the *doctrine of the Roman schools*.'—p. 24.

"This doctrine of the schools is at present, on the whole, the established creed of the Roman Church, and this I call Romanism, or popery, and against this I think the Thirty-nine Articles speak. I think they speak not of certain accidental practices, but of a *body* and *substance* of divinity, and that traditionary, an existing

ruling spirit and view in the Church; which, whereas it is a corruption and perversion of the truth, is also a very active and energetic principle, and, whatever holier manifestations there may be in the same Church, manifests itself in ambition, insincerity, craft, cruelty, and all such other grave evils as are connected with these."—Mr. NEWMAN's *Letter to* Dr. JELF, pp. 6-10.

After reading this passage, how can you say that the purport of Tract 90 is to shew that "the Anglican Church is, in her doctrines, *essentially one with Rome*," &c.? And how can you speak of it as a wonderful discovery, "that the doctrines of the *Catholic Church* are not really denied by the Anglican Establishment?" Is it possible that you should have been so many years a clergyman of the Church of England, and not know that she professes to hold all Catholic doctrine; that she rejects nothing, whether Tridentine or not, *so far as it is Catholic?* And to shew this, every candid reader will perceive, is the *main* object of this much-misunderstood and much-abused Tract; although no doubt it does contain other things more questionable. But if you mean that there is any thing startling in the position, that the Thirty-nine Articles were never intended to condemn, and, in fact, do not condemn, any opinion or practice generally received in the Church for the first six centuries, forgive me for saying, that this only shews your extreme unacquaintance with the writings of our best English divines, and the baneful influence of that school of ultra-Protestantism

in which you have been trained. I can scarcely believe that you have any authority for what you say of our revered Metropolitan. But if he has been "startled," I am sure it has not been by the position maintained in the Tract which seems to have startled you. If it has broken in upon the slumbers of the Welsh curate, I will only say that it is high time he should be awake.

The passage from the Tract 90, which you have selected as an example of its reasoning, is partly misstated, and, as it seems to me, wholly misunderstood by you. You ask (p. 39), "Is it easy to bring oneself to believe that the distinction between a low or private mass, as celebrated at any period of the Church, and the public approved worship of the Catholic Church, can be such as to constitute the former a blasphemous fable, while the latter remains an holy and acceptable offering?"

Now this misrepresents Mr. Newman's words and meaning. He says, commenting on Art. xxxi. "Here the sacrifice of the *mass* is not spoken of, in which the special question of doctrine would be introduced; but 'the sacrifice of *masses*,' certain observances, *for the most part* private and solitary, which the writers of the Articles saw before their eyes," &c.

Now, nothing is here said of the distinction between a private and public mass, *constituting* the one a fable and the other an acceptable offer-

ing; but it is asserted that the Article was directed against an abuse which is *most* apparent in private masses. For, in a public mass, more especially if a communion be joined with it, the language of Rome may *admit* of a better meaning; it perhaps may be softened down, to use your own terms, into a "propitiatory *application* of the sacrifice of Christ;" whereas, in private masses, the corrupt doctrine of Rome stands more boldly out, in which it was taught that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and dead, *to have remission of pain and guilt*,* and which private masses were purchased

* In the first edition of this Letter it was said that these words were omitted in *quoting* the Article; whereas they are found in a previous passage, on the same page, in full. I offer my sincere apology for this very inexcusable oversight. It is almost needless to say, that I had your *second* reference to the Article in my thoughts, where the words *are* omitted, although the introduction of them is most important; because, although it is true, as you state, that it is said of every mass, "that the priests did offer Christ," where your quotation stops with an &c.; it is *not* said, as your words imply, of every mass, "that they offered Christ for the quick and dead, *to have remission of pain and guilt.*" This is not said in the canon of the mass; scarcely said even in the Tridentine Catechism, nor in the creed of Pope Pius.

At the suggestion of a friend, I take this opportunity of observing on your misquotation of the Article xxxi. You write it thus,—"The sacri*fice* of masses, in which it was commonly said that the *priests* did offer Christ," &c.; whereas its true reading is,—"The sacri*fices* of masses, in which it was commonly said the *priest* did offer," &c. You will perceive that the difference is not unimportant, and seems strongly to support Mr. Newman's

for money. The upshot, then, of what Mr. Newman says, is, that *if* a Catholic interpretation can be put upon the sacrifice of the mass, the Article does not condemn *it;* but that it does condemn a Romish abuse of Catholic doctrine, which stands out *most prominently* in private masses.

Your next observation shews, that you have had a very strange and incorrect notion of the design and use of the Thirty-nine Articles, and which I should scarcely suppose you have acted upon during the long period of your ministration in the Church. You say, p. 42:—

"Suppose the case to be as the respected individuals who approve the tract referred to maintain, and that the Thirty-nine Articles are directed against certain abuses of the Catholic doctrines, not against the doctrines themselves. Still, it may well, I think, be asked of them, 'Is this the way in which Catholic revealed truth, the truth of Christ's holy religion, is to be held and set forth before the world by His Church?' Truth is light," &c.

Do you really think that the Articles were designed for "texts" to preach from, or as a compendium of doctrines to be delivered to the people? This may perhaps be the notion entertained by

view of the sense of the Article, that it was not so much directed against *the sacrifice* of the mass offered by the *priests*, as against *sacrifices* of masses offered by *the priest*,—referring to the masses said for souls in purgatory. However this may be, it seems impossible to torture the Article into a condemnation of *the Christian sacrifice* offered in the holy Eucharist.

some clergymen of that ultra-Protestant school in which you have been trained. But it is so palpably erroneous, that I cannot but wonder at your adopting it. The Articles are obviously designed chiefly as a safeguard from error—as authoritatively prohibiting the holding or teaching of certain errors and heresies which have from time to time arisen in the Church. So the Article against the sacrifice of masses prohibits our preaching the Romish peculiarities on this subject; but it no more prohibits us from preaching on the Catholic doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice, than on any other doctrine connected with that holy sacrament. Indeed, it would have been impossible for you to have fallen into this gross mistake but for your lamentable unacquaintance with our best Church-of-England divines; a better knowledge of which might, by God's blessing, have saved you from your present unhappy course. So far is the doctrine of "the sacrifice in the holy eucharist" from being, as you suppose, "not permitted to be publicly held from the pulpit," that all our divines of any note have preached it. You have read the "Oxford Tracts." How, then, have you overlooked No. 81, in which is given a list of *sixty-three* divines—in which are included the bishops and others of highest repute in the Church,—from whose writings testimonies to this doctrine are adduced, the writer at the same time saying, that the list might be much enlarged? Had you forgotten also, that a divine

of the Church of England, of high character, has two considerable volumes entitled "The Unbloody Sacrifice?"

You seem to me to have confounded two things essentially distinct from each other. I will confess—so far I agree with you—that it seems to me to require some ingenuity to shew that Article xxxi. does not condemn the doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass, even as defined by the Council of Trent; and persons may form different opinions of the success with which such an ingenious effort is made. This is comparatively a matter of little importance; only, of course, one would be glad to find, that the definition of Trent does admit of such a meaning as will not include it in the error condemned by the Article. But it requires no ingenuity to shew that the Article does not condemn the Catholic doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice, or that a clergyman subscribing it is free to preach on this or any other Catholic doctrine.

One other topic of your Letter I must advert to, in the naming of which I wish I could have avoided what I fear may seem to be personal; but when you say, in the conclusion of your Letter, that "you sought in vain to satisfy the longings of your soul by any combination . . . . of Catholic devotion in private with the Anglican public worship," I feel compelled to ask, Have you given the Anglican public worship a fair trial? If I am correctly informed (and if wrong, I shall be truly

glad to be set right), *you never obeyed the rules of your Church while you were her minister.* She enjoins, that "the curate that ministreth in every parish church or chapel, being at home, and not being otherwise reasonably hindered, shall say the same" [morning and *evening* prayer every day,] &c.—*Prayer-book.* Have you complied with this rule? Have you "said daily evening prayer" in your chapel? Have you, for any considerable length of time, had even morning prayer? Have you even observed this rule for the last *five years,* since your thoughts have been turned towards Rome? Or have you *long* administered the holy communion every Sunday and holy day, which the Church *enjoins?* or, if you felt yourself still too much straitened, have you asked your bishop to sanction the administration of it *every day,* which the Church seems to *suggest?** If you only began even your *partial* conformity to the rules of the Church *two years* since, as I am informed is the case, might not Christian humility direct you to some other solution of your difficulty than that of the intolerable deficiencies of our public worship? Is it not, at least, *possible* that the fault might lie somewhere nearer home? I ask

* "The Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, appointed for the Sunday, shall serve *all the week after,*" &c. These are read in the communion-service, which, as it should seem, should be proceeded with to the end, if there are a sufficient number of communicants to receive.

these questions with pain, and will only add, that unless you have really availed yourself of all that the Church offered, you have no right to complain that she did not offer you enough. Perhaps, on reflection, you will allow that you have in this been guilty of some injustice.

I will now draw these observations to a close. You speak of the trials to which this step has exposed you; and I am far from wishing to underrate them. At the same time, it may be profitable for you to think of those trials from which you have fled. It may not be denied (whatever may be made of the admission), that the position of a member of the Church of England in this day, who aims in all things to be Catholic, is one of peculiar trial. The words of an apostle seem brought to our recollection—see 2 Cor. vi. 8; and these trials are of a kind more especially painful to those who have imbibed the principles which provoke them.

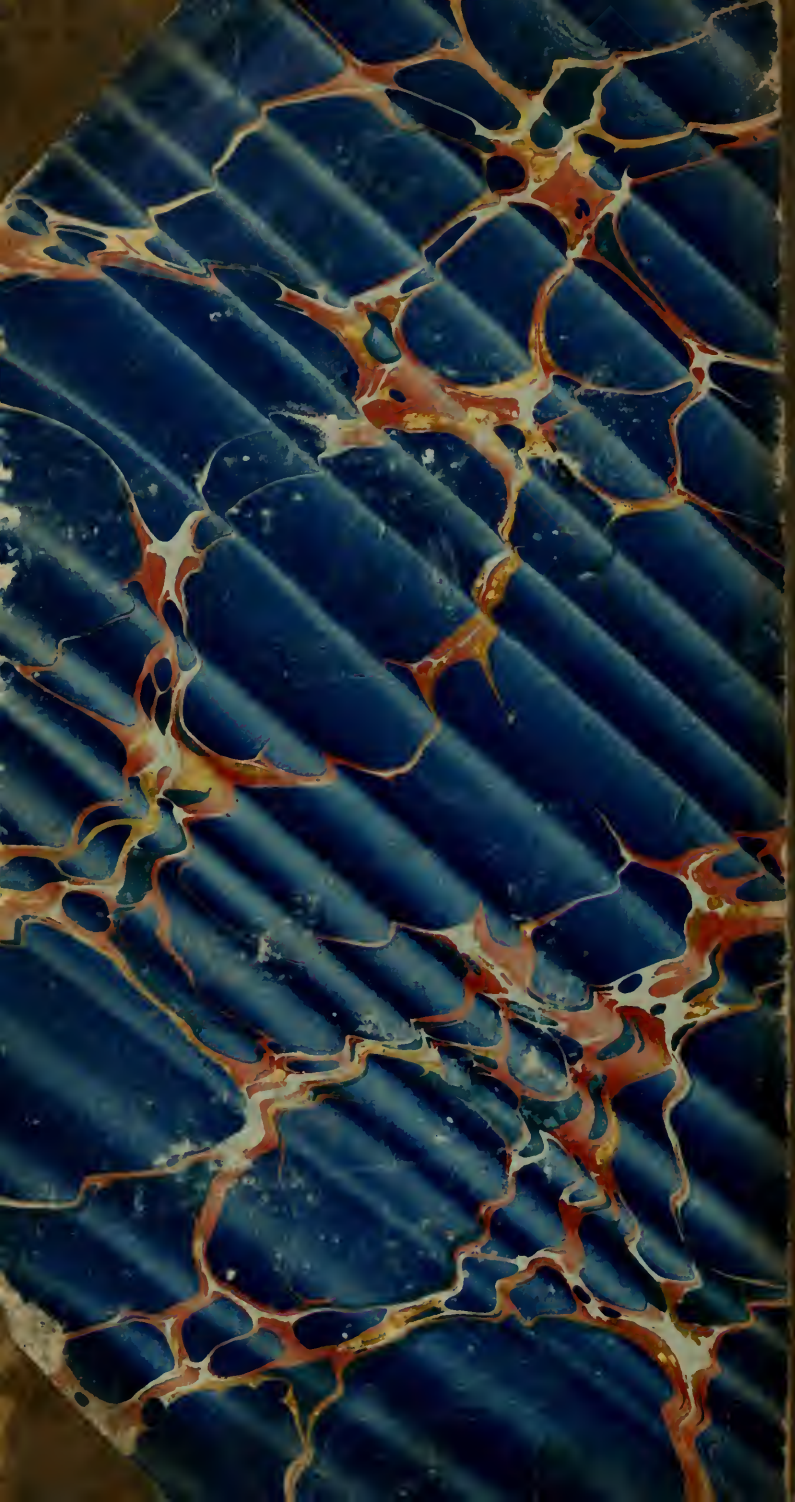
From these difficulties you have escaped. You have taken a step, painful, no doubt, in some of its immediate consequences; but *which being once taken,* delivers you from the conflict in which you have left your brethren. You have, at least, a quiet resting-place—*i. e.* if you are quite *satisfied* with yourself. You glide down the stream without any to resist or oppose you; nay, with all around you to encourage and strengthen you. Those whom you have left have a portion, in many respects, the very reverse of this. Perhaps, then, it would be as

well not to be quite so sure that you have the testimony of *suffering* on your side.

I have only now to express the hope, that in these plain remarks I have not expressed myself with any want of kindness or courtesy; and that if I have been compelled to say painful things, I have not given pain by the way of saying them.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

WILLIAM DODSWORTH.

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